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RECENT FRENCH DISCUSSION OF THE HISTORICAL EXISTENCE OF JESUS CHRIST

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I. THE WRITINGS OF PAUL-LOUIS COUCHOUD

THE controversy as to the historical existence of Jesus, after abating in Germany, England, and America, has recently been revived in France, where it had not before been acute, and has there appeared under a new form, entirely distinct from the theories of Drews, J. M. Robertson, and W. B. Smith. It is of some interest to describe this new aspect of the thesis that the history of Jesus is a myth, and to try to explain the genesis of the contention.

In the eighteenth century certain French thinkers began to study the problem of Jesus from the side of history, or, as they put it, on the plane of reason. While the English deists and the Germans — Reimarus, Lessing, and other leaders of the 'Enlightenment' — were laying the foundations for a critical study of the Christian tradition, the French rationalists, in less systematic fashion, were doing a work not less broad in scope. Voltaire,¹ their most characteristic representative, points out, in a veiled and cautious manner, how little value the gospels have as

¹ Voltaire's ideas on the history of Christian origins are set forth in various writings, such as his "Examen important des idées de Milord Bolinbroke" (Kehl's edition, vol. XXXIII), "Sermons des cinquante" (vol. XXXII), "Histoire de l'établissement du christianisme" (vol. XXXV), "Dieu et les hommes" (vol. XXXIII), "Homélies prononcées à Londres en 1765" (vol. XXXII), "Conseils raisonnables à M. Bergier" (vol. XXXIII), "Questions de Zapata" (vol. XXXIII). See also the "Essai sur les mœurs," especially chapter ix (vol. XVI), and many articles in the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (vols. XXXVII-XLIII).

historical documents and how improbable, in their violation of common sense, are the eschatological prophecies. He notes with surprise the silence of the non-Christian writers as to the history of Jesus, and without a shadow of hesitation recognizes that when Josephus says of Jesus, "He was the Christ," the passage cannot be genuine. Nevertheless, although he maintains that the gospel narrative ought to be examined in the light of reason, or perhaps rather because he maintains this, he refuses to follow certain disciples of Bolingbroke, for whom the obscurities and contradictions of the gospel tradition constituted proof that it has no basis in fact. If Voltaire does not adopt their conclusions, this is not, as the methods that he often employs might suggest, a measure of prudence, adopted in order to insinuate an opinion which might be dangerous if professed openly. In fact he gives very weighty and logical grounds for rejecting the position of the negative critics. His own conclusions are summed up in the following terms: "Leaving faith out of the account, our conclusion must be limited to this: there was an obscure Jew, of the lowest class of the people, named Jesus, who was crucified as a blasphemer in the time of the emperor Tiberius; the exact year is unknown."

The purely negative character of the remarks of Voltaire, who seems to have been more concerned to overthrow the traditional beliefs than to substitute for them a rational conception of the origins of Christianity, explains the extreme views formulated toward the end of the eighteenth century by such men as Volney and Dupuis.

In his book entitled "*Les Ruines, ou méditations sur les révolutions des empires*" (Paris, 1791; 4th edition, 1808), Volney imagines a vision unrolling itself among the ruins of Palmyra, in which, one after the other, representatives of the various religions appear and explain how priests have deceived mankind by artificial dogmas, which have obscured the spiritual character of true religion. He finds in the gospel narrative merely the transformation of an astral myth. Dupuis, likewise, thinks Jesus to be neither a man nor a god, but the sun.² "Christians,"

² Dupuis, *L'origine de tous les cultes ou la religion universelle*, Paris, an III (1794); *Abrégé de l'origine de tous les cultes*, Paris, an VII (1798). These two works have often been reprinted.

said he, "are nothing but sun-worshippers, and their priests have the same religion as those of Peru, whom they massacred."

The vogue attained in France by the ideas of Volney and Dupuis at the end of the eighteenth century and in the first years of the nineteenth, is shown by the number of editions in which their works appeared. But it was an ephemeral fashion and fell before the keen satire of J.-B. Pérès, who, applying Dupuis's own principles to the epic story of the Empire, maintained that Napoleon never existed and that his whole history was only the transformation of a solar myth.³

For the last three quarters of the nineteenth century the negative theory did not recover from the effects of the irony of Pérès. But another cause of the tenacity of French belief in the historical existence of Jesus is to be found in the influence of Renan. His "*Vie de Jésus*," although lacking in originality, and perhaps just because it was not so much a new conception as a graceful and serviceable summary of the accepted results of criticism, exercised a very strong influence, which for certain readers has not yet ceased. It helped to give the French people a lively sense of the reality of Jesus. All Renan's criticism was directed against the idea of the divinity of Jesus. The assertion of his humanity, with which Renan confronted the traditional dogma, carried with it the assumption of his historical existence.

What is true of Renan is true also of those who may be considered his successors — such men as Albert Réville, Loisy,⁴ and Guignebert. Yet it is to be noted that with the development and advance of criticism, while the affirmation of the real human existence of Jesus remains positive, the contours of his physiognomy become more and more vague, question-marks multiply, doubt touches one element after another, and we appear to be rapidly approaching a 'Life of Jesus' which could be summed up in the formula: Jesus lived at a date which cannot be precisely fixed, and died on the cross.

Negative as these conclusions appear, they must be strictly

³ J.-B. Pérès, *Comme quoi Napoléon n'a jamais existé*, 4th edition, Paris, 1838.

⁴ This does not take into account Loisy's recent declarations (*Revue critique*, 1923, p. 402), where, in viewing the gospels as liturgic-prophetic writings, he appears to ignore their historical character, and so makes an important concession to the mythologists.

distinguished from the theories of the mythologists. According to the critics whom we may term minimalists, Jesus did live, but his biography is almost totally unknown to us. The mythologists, on the other hand, declare that he never existed, and that his history, or more exactly the legend about him, is due to the working of various tendencies and events, such as the prophetic interpretation of Old Testament texts, visions, ecstasy, or the projection of the conditions under which the first group of Christians lived into the story of their reputed founder.

As we have said, these negative theses have hardly been represented in France for a hundred years. The theories of Bruno Bauer and of certain critics of the radical Dutch school, such as Pierson, Matthes, and Naber, who continued Bauer's work, made little or no impression among us. At the time of the movement in Germany started by the campaign of Arthur Drews, the reports of the debates in Berlin were translated into French, but except for some newspaper paragraphs they passed almost unnoticed and did not lead to any controversy.

Until quite recent years, the opponents of the Christian tradition did not deny to the gospel stories a foundation in fact; they maintained only that the actual course of events was very different from what the gospels narrate. Some, like Binet-Sanglé,⁵ made Jesus a mere lunatic; others, like Heulhard,⁶ identified him with John the Baptist, and believed him to have been a criminal executed by Pilate for a series of offences against the common law, while the facts of his life were subsequently perverted by a group of men who, following him, exploited his lucrative doctrine of the remission of sins by baptism.

The book by Charles Guignebert, "*Le problème de Jésus*" (Paris, 1914), may fairly be said to express the general feeling of French critical writers in its severe and reasoned condemnation of the theories of non-existence.

Not that certain doubts had failed of expression in France be-

⁵ Binet-Sanglé, *La folie de Jésus*, Paris, 1909. 3 vols.

⁶ Arthur Heulhard, *Le mensonge chrétien (Jésus Christ n'a pas existé)*, Paris, 1908-1910, 11 vols.; *Le mensonge chrétien, La vérité: Barabbas, Le mensonge: Jésus* (abridged edition in one volume), Paris, 1913.

fore 1914. In particular we may mention the studies of Salomon Reinach.⁷ That these did not gain the attention they deserved, and especially that, in his recent books, P.-L. Couchoud makes no allusion to them, although Reinach's views coincide in many respects with his own,⁸ is perhaps due to the fact that Reinach expressed his ideas only incidentally, in articles in reviews, and rather in the form of doubts raised and difficulties presented by the traditional conception than in the form of a definite theory. The reason why he does not formally deny the historical existence of Jesus, but suspends his judgment, lies, as he candidly admits, in the testimony of the epistles of Paul, which he cannot reject as unauthentic, and which seem to him irreconcilable with the denial of Jesus' existence. Yet he indicates a number of difficulties in supposing that Jesus was an historical person.

The first of these is the silence of non-Christian writers, and especially the absence of any report of Pontius Pilate to Tiberius on the condemnation and execution of the Nazarene. From the fact that Justin Martyr believed that such a report was necessarily made, we are justified in concluding that if Pilate had condemned Jesus he must have reported it to the emperor; and since neither Christians nor their opponents ever had any knowledge of such a document — those quoted on both sides being manifest forgeries — we can only infer that the report never existed.

A second difficulty in the tradition is that many of the elements of which it is composed, and notably the most important, such as the story of the passion itself, appear as, and are expressly represented to be, the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies. Thus Psalm 22, 17 (in the Septuagint), "They have pierced my

⁷ Salomon Reinach, "Le verset 17 du Psaume xxii"; "A propos de la curiosité de Tibère"; "Bossuet et l'argument des prophéties"; "Simon de Cyrène"; "Une source biblique du docétisme." These studies, which originally appeared in various periodicals, have been published in five volumes as "Cultes, mythes, et religions," Paris, 1905-1923. See also the same author's *Orpheus*, Paris, 1909.

⁸ In an article in the *Revue archéologique* (1924, p. 373 f.), Reinach complains that Couchoud has not taken note of his study, "Le verset 17 du Psaume xxii." But in two articles, in the *Progrès civique* (1924, p. 1343) and the *Paris-Soir* (Sept. 24, 1924), Couchoud mentions the works of Reinach as having led him to espouse the theory of the non-existence of Jesus.

hands and my feet," will have suggested the whole idea of the crucifixion of the Messiah. In Reinach's view, the agreement between a prophecy and a narrative can be interpreted only in one of two ways: either the prophecy really rests, as the traditionalist theologians hold, on supernatural knowledge of events before they take place, or else the narrative is the offspring of the prophecy. Since no critic of the present day is disposed to accept the former of these alternatives, all that remains is to admit that behind the gospel history, and especially behind the story of the passion, which is commonly regarded as the most substantial part of that history, lies nothing but the illustration of old texts held to be prophetic.

A third objection is derived from the fact of the docetic heresy. The docetists denied the human reality of the person of Jesus and reduced it to a mere appearance. In particular, the sufferings and death of Jesus seemed to them a contradiction of their idea of the divinity of Christ. In order to eliminate from the tradition the idea of the crucifixion of Christ, they conceived that it was Simon of Cyrene who had been crucified in the place and under the semblance of Jesus.⁹ Far from being a perversion of the gospel narrative, Reinach takes this tradition to represent its most ancient form. Jesus, he holds, was not originally a human person of flesh and blood, but a sort of phantom; and this explains why Ignatius of Antioch, unable to show the opponents of Christianity the official documents¹⁰ for which they asked, if they were to believe the gospel, had recourse to the authority of the Old Testament.

Finally, Reinach finds a minor objection to the historical validity of the gospel tradition in its lack of chronological exactness and in the contradictory statements of the extra-canonical narratives as to the age of Jesus at the time of his death and as to the precise date at which he suffered.

Nevertheless, in spite of the emphasis with which Reinach formulates his doubts and expresses his reservations as to the historical existence of Jesus, he cannot be counted among the

⁹ Irenaeus, *Adv. haereses*, i, 24, 4; *Acta Johannis*, c. 97, etc.

¹⁰ This is the meaning Reinach gives to the phrase *τὰ ἀρχεῖα* in Ignatius, *Philad.* 8, 2.

mythologists, but only with those who have contributed — very effectively, it is true — to prepare the way for their theories.

Since 1923 the thesis of the unhistorical character of Jesus has been brilliantly formulated by Paul-Louis Couchoud.¹¹ Physician, man of letters, philosopher, disciple and friend of Anatole France,¹² he came relatively late to studies in the history of religion. At first under the influence of Loisy, he soon went beyond his master's position. The first fruit of his labors was a translation of the Book of Revelation in rhythmical prose, which undertook to reproduce the movement of the original text.¹³ Next he took up the epistles of Paul and worked out a complicated theory of their composition from fragments of various letters,¹⁴ while at the same time he maintained that they were written in their entirety in a rhythm governed by very exact rules.¹⁵ These varied productions show an original and vigorous mind, highly distrustful of traditional opinions, fertile in ingenious combinations,¹⁶ but with a predilection for bold hypotheses and capable at times of neglecting part of the data of the problem under examination.

The same gifts and the same defects characterize his essays on Jesus. The first of these appeared under the title "L'énigme de

¹¹ I should mention also a very paradoxical study by R. Stahl, *Le document 70* (Strasbourg-Paris, 1923), which concludes that the oldest Christian document is the apocalyptic fragment used in Chapter 12 of the Johannine Apocalypse (the woman who is delivered of a child in heaven). That child he takes to be the prototype of the Christian Messiah.

¹² In the article in the *Progrès civique* cited above, Couchoud says that it was through conversation with his "good master," Anatole France, that he came to feel the greatness of the problem of Christ. In the article in the *Paris-Soir* he affirms that Anatole France adopted his theory. In Marcel Le Goff, *Anatole France à la Bechellerie, Propos et Souvenirs 1914-1924* (Paris, 1924, pp. 181-194), discussions are reported at the house of Anatole France on the question of the historical existence of Jesus, together with the statement of his theory which Couchoud made at that time.

¹³ P.-L. Couchoud, *L'Apocalypse, traduction du poème avec une introduction*, Paris, 1920.

¹⁴ P.-L. Couchoud, "Reconstitution et classement des lettres de Saint-Paul," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1923.

¹⁵ Communication to the Société Ernest Renan, January 26, 1924. This paper has not been published.

¹⁶ Anatole France said of Dr. Couchoud, "C'est l'homme le plus intelligent que j'ai connu" (Le Goff, *Anatole France à la Bechellerie*, p. 236).

Jésus" in the "Mercure de France" for March 1, 1923, and later in pamphlet form.¹⁷ A second article entitled "Le mystère de Jésus" was published in the same journal for March 1, 1924; and in the following June there appeared in the series "Christianisme," founded by Couchoud himself,¹⁸ a small book with the same title, "Le mystère de Jésus," which consists chiefly of the two articles from the "Mercure de France," almost unaltered except for the addition of certain observations at the close. Meantime Couchoud had expounded his ideas at several of the meetings of the Union pour la Vérité, directed by Paul Desjardins (January-April, 1924), where his theory was made the subject of searching discussion.¹⁹

Before summarizing Couchoud's ideas, it should be observed that his work differs profoundly from that of most of the mythologists. He possesses an elevation of thought, a profound sense of the spiritual value of Christianity and of the part it has played in the formation of the occidental mind. He is far from the aggressive materialism of Drews, or the hostility to Christianity of Reinach,²⁰ or even the irony of Loisy. There are pages in this book devoted to the denial of the historical reality of the person of Jesus which might inspire, and indeed have inspired, helpful sermons.²¹

We have seen that what held back Salomon Reinach from the

¹⁷ This essay has appeared in English: *The Enigma of Jesus*, with introduction by J. G. Frazer; translated by Mrs. G. Whale, 1924.

¹⁸ According to his prospectus, the series is to give "the synthesis of recent work on Christianity" and supply "the adjustment (*mise au point*) which all agree in recognizing as indispensable."

¹⁹ The report of these discussions is published in the *Bulletin de l'Union pour la Vérité*, February, 1925.

²⁰ Some one has said that the Jews, having put Jesus to death, are now trying to bury the corpse out of sight in order to remove every trace of their crime.

²¹ Take, for example, these sentences on the churches. "No village of peasants is so poor that it has not its church. Everywhere this is the Lord's house, higher and grander than the others. It is the fold in which the invisible shepherd restores and consoles a fraction of his vast flock. Often it is all that remains of past ages. Its ancient walls and well-worn flagstones are the sole bond uniting the successive generations, which otherwise have scant knowledge of one another. The church remains to proclaim that, on the essential point, past generations have felt and thought as one. It declares with a loud voice that throughout the ages the great common business has been to make sure of the redemption obtained through the death of Jesus" (*Le mystère de Jésus*, p. 15).

definite conclusion that the gospel tradition is not historical was the witness of the epistles of Paul. In fact, most of the critics since Bruno Bauer who have denied the historical existence of Jesus have also rejected the authenticity of these epistles.²² It is one of Couchoud's points of originality, and by no means the least noteworthy, that he adopts a wholly different attitude toward the testimony of Paul. He accepts it in its entirety, but maintains that it relates to a purely ideal Christ.

Another point on which he differs, at least in intention, from the rest of the mythologists, is that he makes of Jesus not a mythical but a spiritual being. Here he shows an appreciation of the spiritual value of Christianity which we seek in vain in such theorizers as Drews, Smith, or Robertson.

Couchoud thinks that modern criticism has taken the wrong path in trying to understand how faith in the divinity of Jesus arose and developed. To his mind the real problem is quite different. The important thing is to explain how men came to believe in the human character and earthly life of Jesus. While the critical theories generally current begin with Jesus the man, Couchoud thinks that what was primitive was the Christ-god. For him, Jesus is not a man gradually deified, but a god gradually humanized.

The arguments by which he seeks to justify his theory may be divided into two groups. First, some of them may be called theoretical. Such, for example, is the idea that it is impossible to suppose that in the space of one generation, and especially under Jewish monotheism, a human individual was deified; or again, the contention that if events took place as most critics think, primitive Christianity would display an instance of naïve euhemerism impossible to reconcile with the religious value of the Gospel, and of such a nature as to reduce the religion of the first Christians to a level no higher than Roman emperor-worship and far lower than Judaism and Islam — which have refrained from deifying Moses and Mahomet. But secondly, besides these unmistakably theoretical arguments, other considerations are presented of a more strictly historical

²² Unless, like Drews, they reduce the testimony of Paul to nil by an accumulation of supposed revisions and interpolations.

character. One of the points made by Couchoud to which he gives special prominence is the thesis that Jesus is historically inapprehensible (*insaisissable*). The Talmud and Jewish literature do not make a single reference to him that is not derived from the Christian tradition. Non-Christian writers of the first two centuries either mention him not at all or show clearly that what they say is dependent on the statements of Christians and hence without independent value. The testimony of Josephus is a demonstrable interpolation; that of Suetonius probably relates not to Jesus but to an unknown Jewish agitator named Chrestos; those of Pliny the Younger and Tacitus are unimportant.

As for the gospels, to which historians thus find themselves limited, our author remarks that they are not historical works, intended to give information about a person, but announcements of "good news," works essentially mystical, conveying a message of redemption. The oldest gospel, that of Mark, is the apocalypse of a man who lacked the inspiration of genius, a mere pot-pourri, in which the disparate ingredients are easily distinguished, but are all alike devoid of documentary value. These ingredients comprise, first, material derived from the interpretation, or more exactly from the dramatization, of texts from the prophets. Other material is the direct product of visions and revelations, which in the life of the primitive church held an importance scarcely to be exaggerated. Still other material comes from the ascription to an imaginary Jesus of acts performed and words spoken in the church under the influence of the Spirit-Christ. From such a book, thinks Couchoud, anything so humble and commonplace as historical information should not be sought.

Moreover, in view of the date of composition of the gospels, they belong to a secondary stage even in the development of Christianity. Behind what they let us see we must go back to an older form of Christian faith, to that, namely, revealed in the epistles of Paul. This proposed interpretation of the Pauline evidence is one of the most original, but also the most debatable, parts of Couchoud's system. He sees in Pauline Christianity not the worship of a person who once lived on earth,

but the adoration of a being who is only a new form of the ancient God of Israel, Yahwe become Messiah. Let us survey briefly some of the typical arguments by which he would justify his theory. He cites texts such as 1 Corinthians 15, 3-4; 11, 23; 2, 8. From the affirmation that Christ died and rose again from the dead according to the Scriptures, he infers that it was the Scriptures alone which furnished the idea of the death and resurrection of the Messiah. The fact that Paul says, with reference to his account of the Last Supper, that he received it from the Lord, proves that what the interpreters take for a gospel tradition anterior to Paul is only the content of his visions, that is to say, in the last analysis, the product of his imagination. From the passage which mentions the rulers of this world who would not have crucified the Lord of glory if they had recognized him, Couchoud concludes that Paul thinks of the whole drama of the passion as having its scene between heaven and earth, in an apocalyptic atmosphere. The story of the Christ who descends from his heavenly abode to become incarnate, dies on the cross, and is raised to heaven and placed at the head of the whole hierarchy of beings, seems to him wholly of the same order as that of the Well-beloved of the Ascension of Isaiah, who by command of God descends through successive heavens, unrecognized by the angels who inhabit the several stages of the universe, and so comes at last to Sheol, where he despoils the Angel of Death, and then reascends to glory and receives the praise and adoration of all the angels.

Thus Couchoud conceives of Christianity as originally a spiritual experience pertaining to the worship of the Lord Jesus, or rather to the mystery of Jesus — a celestial being who, for the benefit of mankind, performed in heaven a redemptive drama. But when, after the fall of Jerusalem, great numbers entered the church, they proved unable to follow the first believers on the sublime heights of mystical experience, and the result was a transformation, or rather a degradation, in Christian faith. The mystery of Jesus took form as a story, and passed from the lyric to the narrative phase. The sublime epic of Paul became an artificial legend.

Thus Couchoud distinguishes two successive stages in the

development of Christianity. The first is characterized by a collective mystical experience, the basis of a divine history, mystically revealed. In the second stage the spiritual drama is materialized and transformed into history proper; Jesus descends from heaven to earth.

We have already said that Couchoud exhibits no trace of an anti-religious prejudice. Does this mean that his book is the work of an historian strictly so-called — of what he calls somewhere “a dry and cool historian” — and that his conclusions are dictated solely by the affirmation of facts, entirely detached from theoretical views and *a priori* conceptions? Hardly. On the contrary, we must recognize in his work the dream of a poet, who, heedless of all else, obeys an inner force. This explains why he pays no attention to any of the objections that have been offered. When his first article appeared, I replied in the “*Mercure de France*” for June 1, 1923, discussing and refuting all his principal theses; but this did not prevent him from repeating all his affirmations in his second article, without taking up my criticisms or even saying why he considered it unnecessary to do so. So in his volume of June, 1924, he makes no allusion to the criticisms made on his theory when he expounded it at the meetings of the *Union pour la Vérité*. This is not from lack of courtesy; I can testify, after many long discussions with him, that he is the most friendly and amiable of debaters. It is due simply to an inability to see things from any other point of view than his own or really to grasp his opponents’ conceptions.

What then are the views, not formed by a “dry and cool historian,” which have determined Couchoud’s theories? First of all I should put what appears to be his conception of the essential nature of religious facts. To him religion is solely spiritual, and deals only with ideal values. Its essential purity would be compromised if anything human or material entered into it. Hence his verdict that if Christianity really rested on the fact that a person of the name of Jesus once lived in the circumstances described by the gospels and after death became the object of his disciples’ adoration, it would be “a very mean affair (*quelque chose de très mesquin*), a religion of a low type.”

And that Couchoud's theory is largely inspired by the desire to purge Christianity of what he regards as coarse euhemerism, capable of concealing and altering its true essence, is not a mere conjecture. He himself, after reproaching the traditional views with euhemerism, declares that to his mind that constitutes an objection, "if only because he has a vague feeling that Christianity does not lie that way (*du moins parcequ'il a le sentiment confus que le christianisme n'est pas là*)."²³ Thus at the very foundation of his theory rests a religious philosophy which postulates the purely ideal nature of the person of Jesus.

Another factor has also had its influence. Remarking that the idea of Jesus in men's minds has developed with successive epochs of history, Couchoud prophesies that the movement will continue, and that by the year 1940 the whole idea of Jesus will have passed out of the sphere of history into that of "collective mental images." Here we recognize the sociological conception of religion;²³ and that explains the part which Couchoud, like many other recent critics, assigns to the cultus in the development of Christian thought and literature. With regard to this it may be observed that the most elementary prudence would seem to dictate great reserve. We know almost nothing about the form of Christian worship in the first century, and the meagre information given by 1 Corinthians 12-14 and the Didache shows, at least, that the reading of the gospels did not occupy the central position in public worship, as it assuredly would have done if the gospels were merely prophetic-liturgical writings pertaining to the cultus of the Lord Jesus.

Is it possible to predict the future of Couchoud's theory? The pains that have been taken in expounding it, its mode of publication, heralded by many preliminary newspaper paragraphs, the series "Christianisme" founded by Couchoud — these are not the only nor the strongest reasons for thinking that it will attract, as indeed it already has attracted, a certain number of adherents. There are other reasons, of broader reach. First, the literary excellence of his book. The author's contact with Anatole France has not been without re-

²³ This point has been well brought out by René Gillouin, "Une nouvelle vie de Jésus," in *Questions politiques et religieuses*, Paris, 1925, p. 167.

sult; to that master his style owes something of its richness, suppleness, and brilliancy. In the next place, his view accords with the state of mind produced in many of the present generation in France by the growth and success of the sociological school. It is also the fact — although this consideration has no influence with Couchoud himself — that many readers will see in the theory he has developed an effective weapon against Christianity. We must add, painful as it is to say it, that the ignorance of the history of religion so prevalent in France to-day leaves too many minds without defence against the seduction of the paradoxes and sophistries of our author.

II. FRENCH CRITICISM OF COUCHOUD'S THEORY

In France the history and criticism of religion have as a rule interested but a small circle of specialists, so that even the ablest and most conclusive investigations in these fields seldom attract the attention of the general public. But Dr. Couchoud's theory of the wholly ideal and unreal character of the person of Jesus has been discussed in the most varied quarters. Two formal debates on the question of the historical existence of Jesus, between Couchoud and the present writer, drew large and attentive audiences to the Club du Quartier Latin and the Tribune Libre des Femmes. The interest has not been confined to cultivated people. Circles from which attention to so technical a question could not have been expected have been intensely stirred by it. A lecture on this question which I was asked to give at St. Denis was followed from beginning to end by a crowded audience, made up chiefly of working people. At Ivry, a quarter of Paris supposed to be a centre of communism, Couchoud's book and my own are said to have been eagerly read and discussed with something approaching passion. A pastor in the mountains of the Ardèche, in a parish composed wholly of peasants and farm hands, whom he assembles for informal discussions on the most varied topics, writes me: "I have been astonished to find that men who never opened their lips when we talked about the League of Nations, or the birth-rate, or any such subject, have found their voices when it was a question of the historical existence of Jesus."

One may say that every possible variety of opinion has been expressed on this new theory, from enthusiastic and almost dithyrambic praise to absolute and summary condemnation. It will be interesting to notice these opinions, as well as those expressed concerning my own recent book, in which I have maintained, against Couchoud, the full historical reality of the person of Jesus.^{23a} The very diversity of the judgments illustrates in a curious and interesting fashion the attitude of modern minds toward the fundamental problem of Christianity, at once religious and historical, and the various answers of the world of to-day to the ancient question of Jesus to his disciples, "Whom do men say that I am?"

Although Couchoud has emphasized, in lofty and unambiguous terms, the spiritual character of the problem of Jesus, it is in the domain of history that he proposes to inquire whether Jesus did or did not live. "We are engaged," he says, "in an investigation with definite limits, which any sincere and experienced student of history, believer or unbeliever, can carry on by the ordinary methods of historical study." First of all, then, how have historians judged his theory?

Only one unqualified acceptance can be noted — that of Salomon Reinach.²⁴ But with regard to Reinach and Couchoud, as has already been indicated, it is a question of which converted the other. Couchoud states that Maurice Vernes, whom he calls one of the leaders of exegesis in France,²⁵ definitely accepted his conclusions a few weeks before his death.²⁶ One may ask how far this judgment agrees with various other writings of the same author,²⁷ but in view of the numerous changes of opinion in the career of Vernes, it is not surprising that his belief in 1923 should be the opposite of that published in 1918.

The two best-known representatives of the independent study

^{23a} *Jésus de Nazareth, mythe ou histoire?* Paris, Payot, 1925. An English translation has been published in London by Fisher Unwin.

²⁴ *Revue archéologique*, November-December, 1924, pp. 372 f.

²⁵ This is an estimate with which professional exegetes would probably not agree.

²⁶ *Progrès civique*, 1924, p. 1343. Salomon Reinach also refers to this expression of approbation.

²⁷ Especially with his "Étapes de la déification de Jésus dans les livres du Nouveau Testament," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, lxxvii, 1918, pp. 172-224.

of the New Testament in France, Loisy and Guignebert, have both definitely rejected Couchoud's conclusions. Couchoud made much of the authority of his master Loisy, who, after being the most eminent representative of Catholic modernism in France, broke with the Catholic Church and is now professor of the history of religions in the Collège de France. Couchoud merely charged him with a slight inconsistency. "Loisy's criticism," he says, "being by nature the solvent of the gospel tradition, ought to go to its logical limit, and efface the person of Jesus itself." Rather irreverently he compares Loisy to a man who has climbed a tree and is engaged in sawing off the limb on which he sits. Loisy does not appear to have relished these charges of want of logic and consistency in criticism, and this summons to accept a purely ideal Christ. He supports his theory in a spirited article in the *Revue critique*,²⁸ which in form recalls the most telling passages of "Autour d'un petit livre," and which elaborately demolishes the ideas that Couchoud declares will be generally accepted by 1940. After complaining that Couchoud uses a style more befitting a writer of romances than a sober historian, he offers two main criticisms: first, that Couchoud has brought into the purely historical question of the existence of Jesus debatable sociological considerations which have nothing to do with the case; secondly, that he has given to the texts on which his hypothesis is built an arbitrary interpretation strongly influenced by his imagination and opposed to the rules of all sound exegesis.

Not less severe is the judgment passed on Couchoud's book by Charles Guignebert, professor of the history of early Christianity in the faculty of letters at Paris.²⁹ In his view, to explain the genesis of Christianity by a revelation to Peter of a particular aspect of Yahwe is a gnostic, not an historical, procedure. The whole of Couchoud's argument rests on a fundamental error, namely that the representation of a divine being found in the epistles of Paul is the oldest Christian rep-

²⁸ *Revue critique*, 1924, pp. 447 f.

²⁹ *Impartial français*, October 25 and November 8, 1925; *Mercure de France*, August 1, 1925, pp. 765 f. See also Guignebert's article on my book in the *Impartial français*, July 18, 1925. He is to publish a general article on the problem of the existence of Jesus in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.

resentation of Jesus. On the contrary, Guignebert points out that Paul's epistles, though written earlier than the gospels, express later ideas, and that the entire christology of Paul is unintelligible if it be supposed that he did not believe in the human existence of Jesus. On the other hand, Guignebert points out a series of difficulties attaching to Couchoud's system, and denies that the disproportion between the story of Jesus (or rather, what we know of that story) and the history of the church which bears his name, is a valid argument against his existence. Finally he notes many errors and prejudices in Couchoud's exegesis, and says: "Though Couchoud's thesis starts from the documents, it returns to them only to do them violence and destroy them; under the guise of perfect scientific neutrality it partakes of the nature of philosophic speculation, ventures into the absolute, and tramples on every obstacle. If Couchoud were not so gifted and so eloquent, his thesis would appear plainly in its real character, a rather antiquated paradox, founded on subjective considerations, supported by a species of gnosis, and superficially rejuvenated by skilful presentation and substantial erudition." In closing, Guignebert regrets that the question has been brought before the general public, which can only judge it by impressions, that is to say badly, and which has no means of weighing the arguments presented on the other side.³⁰

The present writer has devoted an entire volume to a detailed examination of the question of the historical existence of Jesus, and after a close study of all the texts, keeping strictly to the domain of history, has reached the conclusion that without the historical reality of the person of Jesus the origin and development of Christianity would remain an enigma, or more properly a miracle. My reasoning, as I expected, failed to convince Dr. Couchoud, though he recognizes that the book represents the point of view and the methods of reasoning of liberal theology at the present time.

³⁰ Similar ideas have been expressed by Paul Souday, literary critic of *Le Temps* (April 3, 1925), who thinks that Couchoud goes too far and that the historical existence of Jesus is necessary to explain the process which has, indeed, resulted in the transformation of Jesus, but must have had a motive, or at least a pretext.

Although, as we have seen, Couchoud's theory has met with a cold reception from students of history, it has been received with enthusiasm in other quarters. Various daily papers, ordinarily more occupied with politics than with history or religion, have given an account of his theses with a degree of praise which, in the opinion of Guignebert, has shown more warmth than discretion.

In the "Quotidien,"³¹ Albert Bayet, moralist and philosopher, finds in the studies of P.-L. Couchoud "one of the great intellectual events of our time, one of those brilliant revelations which suddenly flash upon our sight after years of vague waiting." According to him Couchoud has completely dissipated all objections, which previously seemed formidable, to the theories of the non-existence of Jesus, and has shown that Christianity would be inexplicable if Jesus had lived.

In the "Progrès civique,"³² Aulard, well known for his history of the French Revolution, welcomes Couchoud's book as a "masterpiece of criticism, one of the best writings of our time," and whole-heartedly endorses his position.

In "L'Œuvre,"³³ Ossip-Lourié says that Couchoud's arguments are disconcerting even when they can be refuted. Without passing a definite judgment, he inclines to accept Couchoud's conclusions.

While disclaiming competence in the problem of historical criticism raised by Couchoud, several philosophers and psychologists have offered critical reflections which are of real interest as showing the present trend of religious thought.

René Gillouin devotes an important review in the "Semaine littéraire" of Geneva³⁴ to Couchoud's book. He remarks that the strictly rationalistic spirit which inspires the author is distinct from the now discredited and vulgar rationalism, purely negative and critical, which can see, or will see, nothing but illusion and imposture in religious phenomena in general and in Christianity in particular. That is certainly a point gained. But he reproaches Couchoud, and likewise the entire

³¹ July 24, 1924.

³² August 16, 1924.

³³ August 10, 1925.

³⁴ December 13, 1924. This article is reprinted in *Questions politiques et religieuses*, Paris, 1925, pp. 162-171.

school of criticism which he assails, especially Loisy, with what he calls its astonishing "criticocentric character." Couchoud's contention that since Jesus left no trace in written records, he therefore never existed, is as much as to say that history and philology are the sole measure of persons and things, and that facts and persons are real only in so far as reflected—we might say incarnated—in texts.

In the second place Gillouin observes that the genesis of Christianity proposed by Couchoud is difficult to grasp, because his thought continually oscillates between the conception of a Jesus as inconsistent as a dream, as unsubstantial as an idea, and that of a being of full reality in its spiritual essence.

Finally, as to the sociological side of Couchoud's conception, Gillouin finds here a notable advance on the theories of the French school of sociology founded by Émile Durckheim, because Couchoud recognizes a field proper to religious phenomena, proceeding as these do from a particular function of the mind. But he objects that Couchoud represents religious genius as essentially active and creative, whereas it is primarily passive and receptive, the collective and the social being not the essence but the matrix of religion. However, in spite of these defects, Gillouin thinks that Couchoud's sociological theory will prove a valuable counterpoise to the excessive individualism which marks the religious conceptions of Protestantism.

Without going so deeply into the heart of the problem, Jean Boudreau, in the "*Journal des Débats*,"³⁵ makes another interesting observation on its sociological aspect. "Cannot," he queries, "the disagreement between the supporters and opponents of the historical existence of Jesus be explained by the fact that their respective judgments on the texts in question are dominated by two opposite philosophical and historical conceptions—the aristocratic conception, which deems all progress in the world to be the work of men of genius and the select few, and the democratic conception, which holds that moral principles and accepted beliefs are unconscious and collective achievements?"

³⁵ April 10, 1925.

Somewhat similar is the very interesting article by A. Paul in the "*Revue de Synthèse historique*."³⁶ Human existence in the proper sense, he observes, seems to involve two elements, a localization in space and time, and a value and effect. These two elements are not necessarily a direct function of one another. It may be asked whether Jesus could not exist in men's minds (the question of his spiritual nature being waived) in the manner in which Berkeley conceived the concrete universe to be a suggestion from God to men.

But the question is not one of philosophy. It is rather this: Did there appear in Palestine, in the first century of our era, a person whom tradition calls Jesus, and from whom Christianity is derived? Paul admits that this problem must be dealt with, if only because it has been raised, and to clear the ground; but he thinks that the solution, far from ending the debate, only brings us to the great question of the place of Christ. He presents impartially the arguments adduced both for an ideal Christ and for an historical Jesus, and while he does not give a formal verdict in his own name, it is plain that he may be classed with those who believe that Jesus was an historical character.

Paul next asks whether the problem of Christ could not be approached and solved otherwise than by literary and historical criticism, and whether it might not be possible, starting with the presence of the spiritual Christ in the heart, to transcend this point of view, and return, by way of the Christ of faith, to the Jesus of history. In other words he asks, "Does a spiritual Christ imply an historical Jesus?" and he draws from the apostle Paul the inspiration for an answer to this question. The Christ within, who for believers symbolizes the divine, is for them no unreal ideal but the supreme incentive to action, the metaphysical verity of human existence, and perhaps the instrument of human evolution. If there exists above the ego something which controls the ego, can this be only the prolongation of the ego itself? For believers like the apostle Paul, the divine Christ exists within them without their conceiving themselves to have acquired a double personality. This Christ

³⁶ Vol. xxxix, 1925, pp. 37-50.

is not independent existence (*l'aséité*), he is not identical with God, but remains subordinate to Him. His part is that of expiator and 'second Adam'; his creation is earthly, like that of the first Adam. With him, time and space reappear, and so the extreme spiritualism of Paul issues in an earthly realism. Without leaving theology, the apostle arrives at history.

Finally our critic notes that those who hold the theory of an ideal Christ appear as adherents of a philosophy no longer in fashion, that of romanticism and of Hegel. As for collective creation, he will not deny it a place, but neither will he have us ignore that of creators and leaders. He is convinced that the great personalist philosophers, such as Renouvier, Nietzsche, James, and Bergson, have reestablished individualism; yet we must not fall into what he calls an excessive nominalism and forget that Jesus Christ cannot be understood without the Jewish tradition that preceded and the Christian tradition that followed him. Christ remains a symbol in the sense that history is not sufficient to contain him, that his influence transcends his own time and is not to be explained by it.

Interesting as are the opinions on the problem of Christ expressed by historians, philosophers, and sociologists, it is after all by theologians and religious men, with their various judgments, that more light is thrown on the divergent and, as we shall see, contradictory, tendencies of contemporary religious thought. In order to bring some system into this diversity of ideas, we will look first at the Catholic theologians. They do not appear to have been greatly interested in the theories of Couchoud. Several, among those whose authority has the greatest weight and who seem best qualified to take part in the discussion, have expressed no opinion. This is the case with Mgr. Batiffol, although he devoted a very able volume³⁷ to the theories on primitive Christianity incidentally set forth by Salomon Reinach in his "Orpheus."³⁸ Father Lagrange, editor of the "Revue Biblique," and until recently head of the École Biblique de St. Étienne and of the French school of archaeology at Jerusalem, the most learned French Catholic

³⁷ P. Batiffol, *Orpheus et l'Évangile*, Paris, 1910.

³⁸ Salomon Reinach, *Orpheus: histoire générale des religions*, Paris, 1909.

exegete, has confined himself to a contemptuous allusion to Couchoud's theories. "Sad times are ours," he writes, "when it can be thought necessary to prove that Jesus existed, not to Iroquois, but even to the cultivated and refined readers of the *Mercure de France*."³⁹ When the Club du Quartier Latin, in May 1925, arranged a great public debate on the historical existence of Jesus, several Catholic theologians who were asked to take part declined the invitation, and although a number of priests attended, no one of them spoke, a fact which pained and scandalized certain sincere Catholics who were present.

Only one Catholic theologian has taken a direct share in the debate, Father Léonce de Grandmaison, S. J., editor of the important Catholic review, "*Les Études*." Under the title "Jesus in History and Mystery-religion" (Paris, 1925), he has published a pamphlet which reproduces with some slight enlargement an article from the *Mercure de France* (August 1, 1923). Father de Grandmaison brings up two objections to Couchoud, the first, whether the critic is fully aware of it or not, being used only as a piece of tactics, intended to impress the reader without constituting for the author a decisive argument, since, in strictness, his second objection makes his first superfluous. The first objection is that the historical method, correctly applied, leads to conclusions decidedly different from those reached by Couchoud. Very skilful is the way in which the learned Jesuit confronts Couchoud, not with the works of Catholic theologians, such as Lagrange or Jacquier, but with the opinions of liberal critics, occasionally Renan, but more especially Harnack. All this part of Father de Grandmaison's reasoning is as learned as it is skilful, yet it leaves with us a certain impression of inadequacy. Although some of the weakest points of Couchoud's exegesis have been laid bare, we do not get the sense of a vigorous personal effort to grasp the historical problem presented by Christ. The second and more essential objection of this critic reveals the reason for this feeling. His fundamental thought is, not that Couchoud has used the historical method badly, but that even if correctly employed, this method alone would not enable us to

³⁹ *Revue biblique*, 1925, p. 443.

grasp the reality of the person of Jesus, since that is accessible and comprehensible only to one who stands on the ground of Catholic dogma and faith. Doubtless Father de Grandmaison does not mean to rule out history completely. Without it he could not have written the article 'Jésus Christ' in the "Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique," and would not have been working for thirty years on a Life of Jesus, which Catholics await with impatience and liberal critics with curiosity. But he entirely subordinates history to dogma, and the latter alone furnishes the decisive element for the solution of the problem.

This point of view of Father de Grandmaison is also clearly exhibited in his article in "La Vie catholique"⁴⁰ in which he has reviewed my book "Jésus de Nazareth, mythe ou histoire?" "The book" he says, "consists of two parts, the refutation of Couchoud's theories and the individual views of his opponent." As to the first he is glad to see "the silly hypothesis of a mythical Jesus once more refuted," but on the second point he is dissatisfied, and finds that the refutation of the theory of a mythical Christ is confined within too narrow limits, often arbitrarily set, that is to say, it is made from the point of view of history and criticism alone.⁴¹

But if the judgments of Catholic theologians are as uniform as they are clear, that is not the case with the Protestant opinions; and nothing can be more characteristic of the disorganized state of Protestant thought, at least in France, at the present day, than the contradictory judgments drawn from French Protestants by this historical discussion concerning the theory of a mythical Christ.

No doubt some of these writers have seen that the discussion, once begun in the domain of history, cannot be transferred to

⁴⁰ February 28, 1925.

⁴¹ Several Catholic critics have expressed views on my book similar to those of Father de Grandmaison. They regard it mainly as a weapon to be used against external foes, but one which must be handled with caution. See their articles in *Polybiblion* (April 1, 1925); *Fiches du Mois* (April, 1925); *Revue des Lectures* (March 1, 1925; this article notes that although my book may be of service to specialists in apologetics, it is on the Index, by virtue of Article 1385, § 2, and Article 1399, §§ 2, 4, 6, of the Code of Canon Law); *Revue bibliographique* (June 1, 1925); and *Revue apologétique* (L. Vénard, September 15, 1925).

any other field, and I have had the happiness to receive approval and encouragement not only from men of the so-called liberal school of theology⁴² but also from several of more conservative tendencies,⁴³ and from laymen whose faith had been, perhaps not shaken, but disturbed by the public interest in Couchoud's theories.

The approbation, however, has been far from unanimous. In the circles most deeply attached to traditional orthodoxy some have been concerned, even scandalized, that a professor of theology should have the boldness to treat as an historian the purely historical and critical question whether a person of the name of Jesus did or did not live in Palestine in the first century of our era.⁴⁴ This fact is so strange that I must make some quotations. In the addresses entitled "*Le christianisme, est-il chrétien?*"⁴⁵ Émile Doumergue, honorary dean of the faculty of Protestant theology at Montauban,⁴⁶ expresses himself thus: "A theologian [meaning the present writer] has written a whole book to prove the historical character of the person of Jesus. That is all very well, and it does credit to the intentions of the aforesaid theologian. But it appears that this well-meaning book furnishes the chief argument in support of the thesis which it combats." This "chief argument" favorable to the mythical thesis consists in admitting, what is recognized by most theologians, that it is necessary to distinguish between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith. In the orthodox review, "*Le Christianisme au XX^e siècle,*"⁴⁷ the same author affirms

⁴² Articles by Dean Ehrhardt (*Evangelisches Sonntagsblatt für Elsass-Lothringen*, February 22, 1925), Professor Jundt (*Le Témoignage*, March 10, 1925), Professor Wautier d'Aygalliers (*Évangile et Liberté*, April 8 and 22, 1925), Pastor Jaulmes (*Ami chrétien des Familles*, June 26, 1925), and others.

⁴³ Articles by Professor Breitenstein (*Semaine religieuse de Genève*, March 21, 1925), Pastor Marion (*Gazette de Lausanne*, March 30, 1925), Pastor Boegner (*Christianisme social*, March 1925), Professor Choisy (*Journal de Genève*, July 27, 1925), and others.

⁴⁴ A curious example of this feeling is the fact that addresses in defence of the existence of Jesus which I have made in debates against Dr. Couchoud have been characterized as addresses against Christ.

⁴⁵ These addresses have been collected in a volume published by the "*Union des Chrétiens évangéliques,*" Fontenay sous Bois, 1924.

⁴⁶ Now removed to Montpellier.

⁴⁷ April 30, 1925.

that the defenders of the myth have at least one advantage over the specialists who at the moment are refuting this mythical hypothesis,⁴⁸ and he explains what he means by saying that "as for the defenders of the myth-theory, one need only give them the credit of their philosophy." In the case of the critics, the matter is evidently not so simple, for their researches and comparison of texts have to be discussed, and Doumergue prefers to confine himself to trenchant assertion rather than to venture on the difficult ground of the history of primitive Christianity.

Again in "Le Christianisme au XX^e siècle,"⁴⁹ Bonifas, in reviewing my book, acknowledges that I have scientifically proved the existence of Jesus, and that on this capital issue my work was useful and necessary. But he adds that in saving this point I have lost nine others, and in order to get the better of the fire, I have burned down the spiritual house. Why so? Solely because I studied the historical existence of Jesus "without any *a priori* opinion, or any dogma to be proved, exactly as a chemist would study the poisonous properties of alcohol, or any other phenomenon." He cannot pardon me for having been content to take my stand on the basis of unfettered criticism.

Another representative of orthodox theology, Alexandre Westphal, formerly professor of theology at Montauban and now director of the École des Missions at Paris, denies that the historical existence of Jesus can be debated. "It is not for us," he said to his students at the opening of the courses of the École des Missions in November 1924, "to defend the Bible, but to live it."⁵⁰ Hence the work of criticism is not only superfluous, it is dangerous,⁵¹ since it is a solvent of the

⁴⁸ M. Jaulmes calls attention to the anomaly of this attitude. "The most pious Christians of not more than thirty or forty years ago," he writes, "would have been greatly surprised to see that Couchoud's thesis, satisfying as it is to many unbelievers, is well on the way toward winning over certain conservative theologians, who, more or less, and in spite of themselves, contrast in thought the mystical Christ with the Jesus of history, and are more attached to the former than the latter" (*Ami chrétien des familles*, June 26, 1925).

⁴⁹ April 16, 1925.

⁵⁰ *Journal des Missions évangéliques*, 1924, p. 334. He repeats the same formula in *Christianisme social*, 1925, p. 258.

⁵¹ At least in the New Testament field, for, curiously, Westphal allows criticism of

great realities of the life of Christ — birth, miracles, redemptive death, victory over the grave, sending of the Holy Ghost ⁵² — that is, because critical study may lead us to view the facts otherwise than in the traditional way, and so cause us to modify in some points the accepted formulas. Thus Westphal obeys what is to him an imperative call of conscience in denouncing the works of modern criticism, not because in detail their authors seem to him to have departed from the rules of a sound historical method, but because in his view their researches rest on a vicious principle — the application of criticism to the problems of the New Testament being in itself unlawful.⁵³

There are, then, within French Protestantism, two distinctly opposed tendencies, which have been brought into the full light of day by the controversies about the historical existence of Jesus. One of these may be called the historical tendency. Its representatives are convinced that the Christian religion was not constructed by an abstract speculative effort, but that it is solidly founded on facts possessing full historical reality. They would deem it a defect of loyalty and of faith not to apply to the study of these facts the same historical methods that have been proved in other fields, as though they feared lest the facts themselves, if looked at too closely, would dissolve and vanish away. They are not unaware that critical research may compel them to modify more or less profoundly certain dogmatic formulas; but they think that duty calls, not for the sacrifice of the truth to formulas, but of the formulas, however venerable, to the truth. They are not so foolish as to suppose

the Old Testament. He is the author of an able work on the Pentateuch, "*Les sources du Pentateuque*," Paris, 1888-1892.

⁵² *Christianisme social*, 1925, p. 250.

⁵³ For the sake of completeness, notice must also be taken of the attitude assumed by an active and enterprising group recently formed under the name of "*Union des chrétiens évangéliques*." It repudiates all criticism and has taken as its motto a formula which one of its friends has described as charged with more heat than light: "*The whole Christ in the whole Bible*." This society has taken as its task to denounce as ruinous to the faith every work of criticism, whether in the Old or the New Testament. That the "*Evangelical Christians*" are more zealous than competent is shown by their journal, "*Le Chrétien évangélique*," which recently spoke of "*the modernist criticism, represented by Loisy, Couchoud, and Goguel*" (June 15, 1925), as if these three exegetes did not profess very different opinions on points of capital importance.

that the methods of history are capable of solving all the problems presented to the mind and conscience by the personality and life of Christ; but they believe that the study of theology, whether it start from experience, from speculation, or from tradition, is legitimate only if it abides in harmony with the results of historical inquiry. It may transcend these, but not contradict them.

The traditionalist orthodox school, on the other hand, takes its point of departure from Christian experience and from the traditional dogmatic formulas, and since critical study pursued by modern methods is in danger of contradicting these formulas, it is systematically ignored, or when that is not possible, condemned, a mode of procedure undeniably easier than to discuss it or to make such a study for themselves in order to oppose a good and sound criticism to that which they call destructive.

Recent discussions have not created, but only brought clearly to light, the divergencies already latent within French Protestantism. What the result will be it is hard to foretell. One of the Protestant journals most widely read in France, "Christianisme social," published early in 1925, under the title "Whom say ye that I am?" the results of an inquiry into contemporary thought about Christ.⁵⁴ The pamphlet, of interest in many respects, presents a curious evidence of the want of harmony in Protestant thought of which we have spoken. Side by side stand an article summarizing the arguments of my book and the article by Alexandre Westphal mentioned above, in which the legitimacy of the critical method as applied to the documents of Christianity is formally denied. The editor of the review Élie Gounelle, feeling keenly the lack of harmony in the number, essays in a long editorial,⁵⁵ if not to resolve, at least to explain it, and so to prepare as far as possible for a reconciliation of the different points of view. The way which he points out, and indeed the only way in which the conflict can be resolved under a higher synthesis, is to define the field of science. Within the limits which belong to it, that is to say in everything that concerns texts, sources, and facts, science

⁵⁴ February-March, 1925.

⁵⁵ "Le Christ et nos contemporains," *Christianisme social*, 1925, pp. 173-190.

is supreme. But as soon as it becomes a question of explaining the spiritual origins of a movement, or the occurrence of a personality like that of Jesus, the historical method ceases to be competent. It would be folly to imagine that, because a religious interpretation of facts cannot be gained by science, such an interpretation is impossible or without interest. To take that view would be to sacrifice religion itself, to reduce Christianity to the mere history of a dead past. Souls cannot live on a knowledge of past facts.

Will French Protestantism succeed in making the effort necessary to create a fruitful partnership of science and faith? We must hope so and work for it, for thereon depends the future of Protestantism, and in large measure the future of religion, in France.

THE NEW CRITICISM OF THE GOSPELS ¹

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TWENTY years ago it was possible to regard the Synoptic Problem as virtually solved. There might still be difference of opinion on a number of details, but the main conclusions seemed to be unassailable. The sources of the three gospels, like those of the Nile, had been hidden in mystery, and the discovery of them was justly hailed as the chief triumph of nineteenth-century scholarship.

For some time it has been apparent that the rejoicings were premature. Those matters of detail which had yet to be settled have turned out to be serious, and we are now realizing, with something of a shock, that the Synoptic Problem is still with us. Instead of reaching a solution we have only come in sight of the real difficulties. If the confidence of twenty years ago is ever regained it will only be after another long spell of patient labor.

We certainly owe much to the great scholars of the last century, though their claim to discovery has been found wanting. They gave us the clues which we have still to follow. The materials they collected and the observations they made will always be valuable. Their theory itself, although it calls for drastic revision, will continue, in some essential points, to stand. It will remain certain that Mark is the earliest of our gospels and has been used by the other evangelists. It seems equally impossible to doubt that along with Mark there was another source, now lost, on which Matthew and Luke must have drawn for their record of Jesus' teaching. These results, however they may be qualified, must always form the starting-

¹ Loisy, *L'Évangile selon Luc*, 1924; Streeter, *The Four Gospels: a Study of Origins*, 1924; Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark: its Composition and Date*, 1925; Bacon, *The Apostolic Message*, 1925; Dibelius, *Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 1919; Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, 1919; Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 1921.

point for critical investigation. But we now recognize that the older scholars conceived of their task too narrowly. The problem before them was far more intricate than they supposed, and has to be solved not merely by comparing the editorial methods of the several evangelists but by a deeper analysis, affecting the substance as well as the formal structure of the gospels.

The wider scope of the new investigation will be apparent when we remind ourselves of some of the factors, hardly suspected a few years ago, which must now be taken into account.

- (1) Since Dalman and Wellhausen the question of language has become a primary one. It is no longer enough to say that since the gospels were composed in Greek and were plainly indebted to Greek sources, we have to deal only with Greek documents. Closer examination has made it certain that behind the Greek sources there were Aramaic originals. What was their nature? Have they been faithfully rendered? How far can we recover them?
- (2) It is now acknowledged that the Synoptic gospels are colored by theological ideas, to a much greater extent than is at first sight apparent. They were formerly contrasted in this respect with the Fourth Gospel, but the distinction can be no longer pressed. It can be shown that each evangelist approached the Life of Christ with conceptions of his own, which he has read into the history. Not only so, but it is held that the sources on which he drew were similarly permeated with doctrinal ideas, at times conflicting with each other. The literary criticism of the gospels can no more be treated as something by itself. It must go hand in hand with the investigation of those beliefs which acted on the tradition from the first.
- (3) In like manner it has become evident that the gospels are documents not only for the Life of Jesus but for the history of the primitive church. They arose in different communities, each with its own interests. They reflect various stages in the development of Christian worship and institutions. Allusions may be traced or conjectured to definite events which affected the life of the church. The literary study of the gospels must now adjust itself to this historical background.
- (4) The question of ultimate sources

has become an urgent one. Formerly it was deemed sufficient to ascertain the actual documents of which the evangelists made use. No one could doubt that these documents themselves had a history, but it seemed a waste of time to explore this obscure hinterland. It could only be stated in general terms that there was an initial period of oral tradition, a later period when fragments of this tradition were put into writing, and then the various attempts to assemble the fragments. We are now learning that those earlier stages in the formation of the gospels must be more closely investigated. In gospel criticism, as in physics and chemistry, the elements have to be determined before we can make anything of the combinations. (5) The literary character of the gospels is receiving closer attention. There is nothing else that quite resembles these writings, which are not biography or religious teaching or missionary propaganda, and yet are all these and much more. How did this type of literature come into being? What partial parallels to it can be found elsewhere? The gospels are now being studied in the light of many other writings which seem to have grown up in a similar way — the legends of Buddha and Mohammed, the Icelandic Sagas, the story of St. Francis. From the most unexpected quarters some light may come which will help us to understand the making of the gospels. The problem, as we now see it, is not merely a literary and historical but a psychological one, which may partly be solved with the aid of analogy.

Such are the new questions which now present themselves, while the old ones remain and have become more complex. How should the gospels be dated? What was the nature and extent of the source we know as Q? How must we account for the variations in Q material as we find it in Matthew and Luke? What of the Gospel of Mark? It is the one source of which we are absolutely sure, but the more we examine it the more it abounds in riddles. Where was it written, and for what purpose? Why does it present the appearance of different strata, history alternating with legend? In what degree was Mark acquainted with Q? What was his relation to Peter and to Paul? How far does his record possess a first-hand value for the Life of Jesus?

A number of books are before us, all published in the last few years, which illustrate the new developments of Synoptic criticism in Germany, France, England, and America. The works of Dibelius, Schmidt, and Bultmann have already been dealt with, very ably, in this REVIEW,² but we will presently touch again on their general thesis. M. Loisy's book need only be mentioned, and that with sincere regret. The author is one of the keenest minds that have ever applied themselves to New Testament criticism, and his great work on the Synoptic gospels still holds its place as the most luminous and comprehensive of all the commentaries. If he had contented himself with re-casting the Lucan section in the light of more recent investigation he would have done a welcome service; but the book he has given us, in spite of its learning and brilliance, is only an addition to that freak literature which is already far too abundant. M. Loisy has become obsessed with the idea of a clumsy redactor who, about the year 130 A.D., rewrote and adulterated the works of Luke. To be sure, Luke himself had little to go upon but a few uncertain fables and traditions, but he recorded them in straightforward fashion, and occasionally preserved a fragment of what might almost pass as genuine history. In the redactor's work all this was hopelessly tangled in a tissue of fabrication which it is M. Loisy's task to pull to pieces. He did this for the book of Acts several years ago, and now he performs the same gruesome service for the gospel. No doubt he has succeeded in laying bare a number of inconsistencies and improbabilities, but this he could have done with a far less elaborate machinery. For his theory of a redactor, other than the evangelist himself, he can adduce no shred of real evidence, and is not entitled to serious refutation. One cannot but feel that much of M. Loisy's later work has more interest for the psychologist than for the scholar. It illustrates the danger of a pre-conceived idea when it has once rooted itself in a severely logical mind. No man has a clearer, more penetrating judgment than M. Loisy, but, like Macbeth, he has fallen under a spell. He cannot turn to any simple state-

² Henry J. Cadbury, "Between Jesus and the Gospels," H. Th. R., January 1923.

ment of Luke but that ghost of a redactor rises up before him. His book has critical value in so far as it teaches us, by an extreme example, that all pre-conceived ideas should be avoided in the study of the Synoptic Problem. In this enquiry, above all others, it is tempting to set out with a theory, and the facts have a curious way of all but fitting themselves into the given theory. The next step, naturally, is to twist the facts or pare away their edges, so as to make the little extra adjustment. One learns, by and by, to suspect every theory. All progress hitherto has been made by carefully observing the facts with an open mind, and by this method alone can we hope to advance much further.

Our chief concern is with the books of Dr. Streeter and Dr. Bacon, which may fairly be regarded as the outstanding contributions to recent Synoptic criticism. Dr. Bacon regrets in his preface that his own book was completed before Dr. Streeter's appeared, but this, from the reader's point of view, is fortunate. The results arrived at by these two eminent scholars are far more significant since they were arrived at quite independently. They are the more interesting as the two writers are strikingly different in their method and outlook. Dr. Streeter builds up his case from the foundation, and disposes of every difficulty in clear and orderly fashion as it comes in his way. He inclines, wherever possible, to a conservative view. In literary and textual criticism he is always admirable, but is apt to lose himself when he ventures into theology. Dr. Bacon is daring and impetuous. Too often he leaves his pre-suppositions to be inferred from the argument he bases on them. He delights in new combinations, in conjectures which are always suggestive but sometimes questionable. His interest is much more in ideas than in literary puzzles, and though he often uses the philological method, it is only to trace out some peculiar turn of thought. At the same time the two writers have some notable qualities in common. They both are intent on seeing things for themselves, so that they make new discoveries in places that have been explored a hundred times. They are both perfectly loyal to the teaching of facts.

They both approach the study of the gospels with a full sense of the larger issues involved. Dealing, as they are compelled to do, with a great mass of minute detail, they never allow the reader to forget the greatness of the subject.

Dr. Streeter's aim is an ambitious one — too much so even for the seven hundred closely printed pages of his book. He sets himself to discuss the sources, date, and authorship of all the four gospels, and complicates his task still further by an introduction, occupying a quarter of the volume, in which he examines the history of the text, with special reference to the new Koridethi manuscript. It might have been better if this section had been issued as a separate book. The exposition itself is a most valuable one and is remarkably lucid and interesting, but in the subsequent discussion little use is made of the results obtained. The author's chief aim is to make out that the Koridethi ms. represents the textual tradition of Caesarea, and is therefore of the highest importance for the Gospel of Luke, which he assigns to Caesarea. Both contentions are doubtful, and in any case the assimilation of text in the three gospels, as Dr. Streeter himself points out, began very early. The Koridethi manuscript and its allies give us little assistance in the effort to get behind this process.

The great contribution of Dr. Streeter's book is his new theory of the composition of Luke, which he put forward some years ago in the *Hibbert Journal* and now elaborates. If there was any fact which seemed to be firmly established it was that Luke, like Matthew, employed Mark as the frame-work of his gospel, inserting at convenient intervals excerpts from Q and from a special source consisting largely of parables. It was recognized that on several occasions Luke breaks away from Mark for long stretches together, but this was attributed to his editorial method. Dr. Streeter offers a new and at first sight startling explanation of Luke's procedure. He holds that Luke used as his frame-work not Mark but another document somewhat longer than Mark. In this writing Q had already been incorporated, and it formed something like a complete gospel, opening with the mission of John the Baptist and ending with the Resurrection. It overlapped with Mark at a

number of points, but was an independent record. There is thus an essential difference between Matthew and Luke in their employment of Mark. For Matthew, Mark is the primary document, within which all additions are inserted. For Luke the other source is primary, and is supplemented from time to time by extracts from Mark. Dr. Streeter maintains that the existence of this Proto-Luke has been hidden from us by its similarity to Mark in the earlier sections. When once we free ourselves from the assumption that Luke must here be following Mark, we become aware that he works with a different source, which can be traced all through his gospel.

The theory is an attractive one, and disposes of several difficulties. (1) It explains, in a more satisfactory way than any other theory, Luke's frequent departures from the order of Mark. (2) It clears Luke from the charge of often re-writing Mark's narrative in a purely fanciful manner (a charge which M. Loisy is never tired of repeating). The answer is now available that Luke is faithful to his source, but to a source that is other than Mark. (3) It partly accounts for the variations of Matthew and Luke in their report of the Q sayings. Q, on the new hypothesis, had already undergone a process of editing, and Luke gives the sayings as they came to him in the intermediate form.

The chief objection to the theory is that it requires us to desert the known for the unknown. Mark we have before us, and can prove that Luke made use of him; there are fair grounds for arguing that he was Luke's primary source. The lost gospel is hypothetical. Dr. Streeter tries to reconstruct it, and often makes us feel that he is successful. His Proto-Luke would answer better than Mark to the required conditions. But did it exist? Till this can be absolutely proved, and with our present data such proof seems well-nigh impossible, we are justified in still holding that Luke fitted his material into the frame-work of Mark.

Again, the theory postulates too much overlapping of Mark and the lost gospel. The two works, with all their differences, are too suspiciously like twins. This may be due to the nature of the material, or to borrowing, or to common dependence on

some earlier source. Dr. Streeter avails himself from time to time of all these suppositions. But they all entail the piling of one hypothesis on top of another, making the whole theory a little unstable.

Once more, Dr. Streeter makes much of Luke's independence of Mark in the narrative of the Passion, and finds evidence here of the use of another gospel. But the account of the Passion was a story by itself, of which there were doubtless many versions. Luke may well have supplemented his Marcan narrative at this point with material that had come to him by another channel. He speaks in his Prologue of many sources to which he was indebted, and it may have been part of his design to vary his Marcan record as much as possible, while following it in the main.

Dr. Streeter himself strikes a quite gratuitous blow at his own theory by his strange contention that Luke was also the author of Proto-Luke. At Caesarea, where he attended Paul during his captivity, he wrote an outline of the Gospel history, and filled it out in his later years, when he had become acquainted with the work of Mark and others. If this were so, the theory of a Proto-Luke would signify little, even if it could be fully proved. It would only confront us, in a slightly different way, with the old question, "Where did Luke find that portion of his material which is not derived from Mark?" It would also destroy what is otherwise the strongest point in the new theory — that the Q sayings had come to Luke through an intermediary, and had thus been edited before he himself revised them further. This on every ground is highly probable, and there seems no reason why Dr. Streeter should try to undermine his own argument.

The problem of Q would be cleared up still further if we accepted Dr. Streeter's view that Matthew also used a special source, in which the sayings were incorporated. Its tone, he maintains, was strongly Jewish, and most likely it originated in Jerusalem. In place of the Two-source theory he thus propounds a theory of four fundamental documents, each of them carrying with it the authority of a great church. Q he assigns to Antioch, M (the special source of Matthew) to Antioch, L

yue.

(or Proto-Luke) to Caesarea, and Mark to Rome. Q was a collection of sayings, furnished with just enough narrative to make them intelligible — much after the manner of the book of Jeremiah. It was known to Mark, as well as to Matthew and Luke, but he used it in an earlier recension. We cannot but feel at this point that Dr. Streeter betrays an inconsistency, which has important bearings on his theory as a whole. He rightly warns us against the danger of conceiving of Q as a fixed document, and shows that Mark must have known it in a brief, inchoate form. Elsewhere, however, he seems to neglect his own warning, and to attribute a definite order and content to the Q which lies behind Matthew and Luke. His chief purpose in much of his argument is to explain how the same document has come to us in two such different versions. But why not allow full weight to the hypothesis that Q was always in the making, and never arrived at a definite form? A teacher, as many of us can bear witness, is never quite satisfied with his text-book. He uses it as a basis, but continually corrects it and adds to it and suits it to his own method, till at the end it is virtually a new book. May we not conceive that in the primitive church a brief collection of Jesus' sayings was put together for purposes of instruction, but served only as a nucleus around which new material was always gathering? No authorized edition of Q was possible. Towards the end of the century it may have circulated in almost as many versions as there were churches or accredited teachers. Such a conception of Q—and Dr. Streeter himself appears to incline to it—would make a large part of his Four-document theory unnecessary.

In passing to Dr. Bacon's book we may observe that the title conveys a very imperfect idea of its scope and importance. Ostensibly it is an enquiry into the date of Mark, but the treatment of this one issue gives rise to a discussion of the Synoptic Problem generally, and of the whole history and theology of the Apostolic Age. From a literary point of view the plan adopted is an excellent one. Revolving as it does around a single issue the book has a unity of interest which is lacking in ordinary works of gospel criticism. The reader can feel

as he threads his way through mazes of detail that he is going somewhere, and will finally get a plain answer to a plain question. But by thus narrowing his aim Dr. Bacon exposes himself to severe penalties. Those who cannot accept his main conclusion, and he himself only puts it forward as tentative, will be disposed to call his whole argument in question. This will subject him to a grave injustice, for however we regard its main thesis the book is one of the weightiest contributions yet made to the criticism of the gospels. Its chief value consists not so much in anything it definitely proves as in its constant flashes of insight, and in its apprehension of the great principles on which a true science of the gospels must be founded.

The plan of the book has the further disadvantage that it entails too much of a plunge *in medias res*. In his anxiety to keep to his professed theme, the author assumes many results without indicating the process by which he has reached them, so that there is often a defective understanding between him and his reader. One or two preliminary chapters, briefly explaining his general positions, would have saved some later confusion. This want is partly repaired by the accompanying book on "The Apostolic Message," with its discussion of the religious ideas which are conceived to form the background of the gospels. In his earlier works, "The Beginnings of Gospel Story" and "Is Mark a Roman Gospel?" Dr. Bacon has stated his critical position in detail; but an introduction summarizing these previous books would have been helpful.

The author has chosen a crucial issue on which to concentrate his enquiry. All criticism of the gospels must turn on the dates when they were written, and the date of Mark, the earliest gospel, is all-important. Previous writers, intent on the one question of Mark's relation to the other gospels, have troubled themselves little about his date. Dr. Streeter is no exception. He usually accepts no conclusion without re-examining the evidence, but on this point he is content to repeat the conventional arguments, and dates Mark about 65 A.D. Dr. Bacon arrives at a date almost twenty years later, and by so doing throws the whole Gospel tradition into a new perspective.

He sets himself to prove, in the first place, that the early testimony as to the date of Mark has been misunderstood. From the famous passage in which Papias records the statement of the Elder it has been inferred that Mark collected his materials in Peter's lifetime, and wrote very shortly afterwards. Dr. Bacon argues with much force that Papias only quotes the Elder with reference to Mark's want of "order," while the sentence as to the origin of the gospel is a conjecture of his own, based probably on 1 Peter 5, 13. For the date of Mark we are thus thrown back on internal evidence, and the one specific clue appears to be the reference in 13, 14 to the "abomination of desolation, standing where he ought not." A number of scholars have here recognized an allusion to Caligula's project of erecting his statue in the Temple — an outrage which stirred the whole Jewish community to its depths and left an ineffaceable impression. Dr. Torrey has concluded from the passage that Mark was written at the time when the sacrilege was still in prospect. A Christian writer, he holds, saw in it that consummation of wickedness which would precede the end, and was prompted to draw up his Messianic manifesto. In a forthcoming book, awaited with much interest, Dr. Torrey will fully develop this theory, which Dr. Bacon accepts up to a certain point. He sees in the mysterious passage an utterance by a Christian prophet at the time of the excitement in 40 A.D., but shows that it has been carefully modified. In one of the many illuminating paragraphs which he throws out by the way, he points out that the church was not at liberty to discard its predictions, or to alter them too obviously. When they were once made, both friends and enemies insisted that they should stand, and at most they could only be slightly corrected to fit in with new conditions. Caligula's statue was not set up, but we find Paul in 2 Thess. 2, 4 still holding to the prediction; all he can do is to substitute a person, a sinister apocalyptic figure, for the inanimate object. Mark also contemplates such a person, but along with the Pauline modification he introduces one of his own. The "Desolator" will appear, not in the Temple, but in some indeterminate place, "where he ought not." What can this signify

but that the Temple has now fallen, and must be struck out of the picture if the prediction is still to hold? Mark was therefore written after 70 A.D., and considerably later; for the prophetic chapter shows traces of acquaintance with the special source of Luke, in which the fall of Jerusalem is clearly presupposed. In view of its relation to the other Synoptic gospels, Mark cannot be much later than 80 A.D.; but we cannot place it earlier. It is the Gospel not by Mark, but "according to Mark" — composed by a Roman Christian of the third generation who availed himself of Mark's reminiscences of Peter's teaching. With the clue afforded him by the one datable allusion Dr. Bacon proceeds to examine the more general evidence, and finds that it all supports his verdict. He argues that the Aramaic cast of the language is no proof of early date. Not only is it due to the sources rather than to the evangelist himself, but all the Gospel writers, by a natural convention, tried to preserve as far as possible the Aramaic turns of speech. They were as sensitive as we are to the effects of Oriental phrasing. It is further argued that Mark's vaunted familiarity with the conditions of Palestine in the time of Christ is only a myth. In numerous points of detail he proves himself to know nothing at firsthand of the scenes and events of which he writes. (Dr. Bacon here insists, somewhat unkindly, on the mature age of Herodias' daughter, but on this point, at least, he seems to be less well-informed than Mark.) The chief emphasis is thrown on the theological teaching of the gospel. Although a direct Pauline influence is hard to trace, it is saturated with Pauline ideas. The very fact that it consists mainly of narrative is due to a Pauline insistence on the work, as contrasted with the teaching of Christ. The Christology and soteriology, most of all the broad conception of the contents of the Christian message, betray the influence of Paul. At the same time this Paulinized theology is colored by various deposits of earlier tradition. For Q, Christ had been the incarnate Wisdom of God, and while Mark departs from this conception he reflects it in his story of the Baptism. In his account of the Transfiguration he admits a Christology of the Son of Man or apocalyptic type, which is foreign to his main teaching. His

materials have largely come to him through Peter, and he falls back occasionally on the Petrine conception of Christ as the Suffering Servant. Yet Peter rarely appears except to receive rebuke, and most of the incidents are so presented as to affirm the doctrine that Jesus is "Son of God" in the characteristic Pauline sense. Dr. Bacon makes much of the disappearance of the ending of the gospel, which he regards as intentional. There were two conflicting streams of tradition concerning the Resurrection, and Mark had tried, not very successfully, to combine them. It was deemed advisable to discard his ending altogether.

The force of Dr. Bacon's argument depends on the cumulative weight of a multitude of details, each of which might seem inconsiderable in itself. He applies the microscope to almost every point of Mark's narrative and teaching, and discovers some trace of later influence modifying the earlier tradition. His reasoning, indeed, would often have been more cogent if it had been less subtle and recondite. A feeling of something like pity comes over the reader as he watches each poor phrase or incident laid on the rack and compelled to yield its reluctant confession. He doubts whether he can rely on evidence wrung out by torture. He finds himself wondering if there is not some more obvious answer to the riddles which are solved so ingeniously. The ending of Mark, for instance, may have been lost by accident. The occasional affinities with Pauline thought do not necessarily point to Pauline influence. The vague phrase "where it ought not" may have no other purpose than to enhance the mystery of a cryptic prophecy. Indeed the whole assumption that the Caligula episode underlies the Little Apocalypse is open to question. As Dr. Bacon himself recognizes, the idea of an Antichrist who will appear before the final events pervades the New Testament eschatology. Would an idea so constant and deep-rooted have sprung entirely out of an ephemeral incident, and one in which Christians had no direct concern? Must we not rather infer that although we do not explicitly meet it in the surviving books it was a fixed element in apocalyptic thought ever since the time of Daniel? We cannot but feel, moreover, that Dr. Bacon allows too little

weight to the positive evidences for the earlier date of Mark: e.g. the fact that Matthew and Luke, writing in different places about the same time, are both acquainted with Mark; the consensus of the church, apparently from the beginning, that Mark was the author; the use of Q by Mark in an elementary form. Nevertheless the view which Dr. Bacon has advanced with such a wealth of ability and learning is one which all future students of gospel origins will need to consider. He has at least demonstrated that the structure and thought of Mark are complex. The evangelist takes up the tradition when it has already passed through various phases, and composes his work with an art that bears witness to previous experiments in Gospel writing. Is it possible to reconcile these features of Mark with a date much earlier than that which Dr. Bacon assumes?

At this point it is necessary to take some account of the new method of Gospel criticism which as yet has its chief vogue in Germany. Dr. Streeter and Dr. Bacon are both concerned with the sources that lie immediately behind our gospels, and do not try to analyze the tradition into its ultimate elements. They both, however, recognize that the sources which are blended in the gospels were themselves derived from earlier sources, and in the last resort from separate sayings and incidents. To these elementary materials Dr. Bacon gives the name of "preacher's anecdotes." Without committing himself to extreme conclusions he holds that the Gospel tradition originated in stray reminiscences of Jesus, employed to point some moral for Christian edification.

The theory, in its essential features, is as old as Schleiermacher, and is based on the undoubted fact that the connections and transitions in our gospels are in almost every case obviously artificial. Sayings uttered at different times have been strung together into the semblance of ordered discourse. Incidents quite unrelated have been arranged in sequence by the use of conventional formulae—"on the next day," "when he had gone into the house," "departing thence," and the like. We have to deal not with a continuous history but with a mass of *disjecta membra* which have been organized by the skill of editors.

In recent years, however, far-reaching inferences have been drawn from this view of the Gospel origins. For one thing, the position of Mark as our primary authority for the Life of Jesus has now been challenged. If the evangelists had nothing to work on but a heap of fragmentary notices, Mark had no advantage over the others. He could only guess the order in which his materials should be arranged, and is entitled to no preference because he happened to guess first. And the consequences of the theory have been pushed still further by some of its leading exponents. They hold that we can know absolutely nothing as to the true course of events in the Life of Jesus. The appearance of ordered biography is solely due to the early editors. It is open to any one to break up Mark and Luke into their elements and re-arrange the scattered pieces in an entirely new order. This is a startling conclusion, but it seems to us unnecessary, and also absurd. In the first place, we can usually gather from the material itself how it should be arranged. This is obviously true of the opening and closing episodes, and in a more general way it is true of the others also. An evangelist might be uncertain at what point to record a given incident, but he could at least judge whether it belonged to Galilee or Jerusalem, whether it came early or late in Jesus' career. If any intelligent man were given fifty anecdotes of Lincoln, on separate slips of paper which were shuffled in any conceivable order, he would be able, without much trouble, to sort them out in approximately the right order. Here, he would tell himself, Lincoln must have been an obscure youth, here he was a practising lawyer, here he was at this or that stage of the presidency. One could even imagine a man who had never heard of Lincoln and who might yet, with a little reflection, construct a biography, roughly correct, out of the miscellaneous anecdotes. Such an experiment can only be imagined, for it would be impossible to find any intelligent man who did not already have in his mind some outline of Lincoln's career. And can we believe that among Christians of the first or second generation there were those who knew nothing whatever of the Life of Jesus? Can we believe that the men who undertook to write his biography had no clue to guide them

except that which they could pick up for themselves out of the anecdotes? They wrote, as Luke himself informs us, because they had already "followed all things from the first." They felt that they were in a position to sift out the chaotic material and put each fragment in its right place. We may infer, for that part, from their very discrepancies that each of them had his own map of the events and could say to himself from time to time "my source must here be in error." It is one of the many fruitful suggestions in Dr. Bacon's book that when the Elder objected to Mark's "order" he was contrasting it with that which he himself, or his circle, was accustomed to follow. Each teacher of the church had some traditional outline into which he could fit the records.

The new line of enquiry, therefore, does not lead to the conclusion that the evangelists were wholly at the mercy of their own conjecture. It has, however, forced us to recognize, more clearly than ever, that the gospels are ultimately composed of a great number of pieces, unrelated to each other. What was the nature and origin of these fragmentary traditions? Dr. Bacon describes them as "preacher's anecdotes" — by which he means that they were used as illustrations in religious teaching, and thus survived. "The gospels" he declares emphatically, "were *religious* writings. Religious edification was the primary purpose of their authors. After that we may place as a motive apologetic interest, and somewhere after that the presentation of religious history as such." Dr. Bacon is guided by this principle in his analysis of Mark, and in the companion book on "The Apostolic Message" he gathers up his conclusions as to the religious purpose which the gospels were meant to serve. He holds that the two ordinances of Baptism and the Supper preceded any formal statement of Christian belief, and that all later reflection crystallized itself around these two rites. Our gospels, with their account first of the ministry then of the death, represent this twofold teaching — just as the Pauline system revolves round the two foci of Justification by Faith (as set forth in the Supper) and Life in the Spirit (as symbolized in Baptism). The ordinances rest ultimately on the teaching of Jesus himself, and testify to the

manner in which he conceived of his mission. He claimed to be "King of the Jews," in the sense that through his leadership the nation would be brought back to God, repentant and forgiven. This aim he first pursued by his teaching, and finally devoted himself, on behalf of the nation, to a martyr-death. It was the grand achievement of Paul that he made this death for Israel a death for the world, but the intrinsic meaning of the act was not thereby changed. The purpose of Jesus, therefore, was to reconcile his people to God, by his revelation of a new way of life and by his martyr-death; and his message was reproduced by the early church in a number of forms. There was (1) the Petrine teaching, which underlies Mark and 1 Peter; (2) the teaching of James and his circle, reflected in Q, the Epistle of James, and the Gospel of the Hebrews; (3) the teaching of Luke's special source; (4) the theology of Paul. These various types of the Apostolic Message are all based on the conception of Jesus as the Servant of the Lord, though behind this there is a Wisdom Christology, and behind this again an apocalyptic doctrine of the Son of Man. As Servant of the Lord (and this fundamental belief may be set down to Petrine tradition) Jesus was set forth in his twofold character as endowed with divine wisdom by the Spirit, and as dying on behalf of his people. The emphasis is placed sometimes on the one aspect of his work, sometimes on the other, and by this criterion the various types of teaching can be distinguished. But they are all rooted in the original conception of an act of self-sacrifice on behalf of the nation. The idea of an Atonement was thus central to Christianity from the first.

This, in barest outline, is the drift of a very remarkable book — rich in suggestions on the critical as well as on the theological side. It is strongest in its most important chapters, where it seeks to interpret Jesus' own attitude and purpose. Justice is done alike to the national limitations of his work and to its universal possibilities. Few, we imagine, will be able to follow Dr. Bacon the whole way in his construction. He assigns to the sacraments at the very beginning a significance which belongs to their later history. He identifies the conceptions of Wisdom and the Spirit in a manner that is surely quite unwar-

rantable. He discriminates between the phases of primitive teaching with a precision which our scanty data do not justify.

Here, to our mind, is the chief weakness of Dr. Bacon's account of the Apostolic Message. He associates it too much with theological subtleties — distinguishing in the primitive church a number of sharply defined parties, each with its own Christology and its reasoned view of the Christian salvation. Is it not more probable that the thought of the church in that first generation was vague and naïve? It was satisfied with the broad conception of Jesus as the promised Messiah, and welcomed all Old Testament suggestions which appeared in any way to bear on his mission. "Son of David," "Son of Man," "Wisdom," "Servant of the Lord" were not the watchwords of different schools. All the titles, and the ideas connoted by them, were used indifferently by all the early teachers. When controversy arose in the church, it was not on theological but on practical issues, especially that of observance of the Law. Even Paul, so far as we know, was never attacked on the side of his theology, on which he was so vulnerable, but solely for his free attitude to the Law. Dr. Bacon admits, as he must needs do, that our present gospels, written towards the close of the century, admit different types of thought, often hard to reconcile. Yet he assumes that the primitive teachers were strictly logical and consistent. By a spectroscopic analysis he separates what is Petrine, what is Pauline, what is derived from Luke's special source, or from the circle of James. Is it conceivable that in the earliest days, before Christianity had yet found a name, theological distinctions were so exactly drawn? If they had been, would there have been much life in the Apostolic Message?

This question of their theological purport has a vital bearing on our whole estimate of the gospels. Dr. Bacon, as we have seen, declares that they must be viewed primarily as works of religious teaching, and examined by this one test. That we know something of the actual Life of Jesus is due to a happy accident. The early preachers were interested solely in religious issues, but had the habit of illustrating them by anecdotes about Jesus. These illustrations have survived and form the

material of our gospels. Now it is true that most of the episodes have some kind of moral attached to them, but it does not follow that this is their primary interest. "Preacher's anecdotes" are not always strictly relevant. One often has the suspicion that the preacher got his anecdote first, and invented a moral in order to work it in. When we scrutinize the Gospel anecdotes we find in the majority of cases that the moral is banal or superfluous, and sometimes shows a complete misunderstanding of the incident. The theory of "preacher's anecdotes" needs, in fact, to be inverted. It is not the morals but the stories themselves that constitute the point of interest, and must have done so from the first. The preacher knew something about the Life of Jesus which he was eager to tell, and which his audience would delight to hear. He piously tacked on a moral, or more likely this was thought necessary later, but the story is manifestly recounted for its own sake.

No one, indeed, would deny that the gospels are written with a *religious* purpose. They record the life of a great religious teacher, whom his followers regarded as the Messiah, and all that he said and did is inevitably viewed in the light of his mission. But this does not mean that the historical record is made wholly subordinate to religious ideas. The evangelists, when all is said, have given us the most fascinating story ever written, and they cannot have done so by mere accident. Mark may or may not be anxious to reconcile Pauline with Petrine doctrine; he is certainly anxious to make his narrative vivid and dramatic. When he described the madman of Gadara and the death of John the Baptist he was thinking of something else than theological formulae. Luke may have held certain views on Christology; but he was far more concerned to touch the emotions and present scenes and characters in such a manner that they would live in the memory. And if our evangelists, writing in an age of theological reflection, are mainly interested in their story, may we not believe that in the earlier days this interest was the paramount one? It is a significant fact that Mark, our oldest gospel, enlarges on the various incidents with a wealth of detail which is omitted or compressed in Matthew and Luke. Mark, it may be presumed, is nearest

to the primitive manner. The stories, as recounted among the earliest Christians, were not mere anecdotes, brought in to illustrate some point of doctrine, but genuine stories, narrated at full length for their own intrinsic interest.

We would therefore contend that to throw the whole emphasis on the theological teaching of the gospels and of the sources which lie behind the gospels, is to place them in a wrong light. Modern theologians are naturally concerned with the growth of religious ideas in the early church. They analyze the primitive records with these ideas chiefly in view, and magnify every trace that can be found of them. They are disposed to read the Gospel anecdotes as mere pendants to some exposition of doctrine. But it is difficult to believe that the primitive Christians had such a consuming passion for sermons that stories of the Life of Jesus could only be introduced by a side-door, accompanied by a moral. Is it not possible that they wanted the stories — that they even preferred them *without* the moral? The parables, it is fairly evident, were not preserved for the sake of their lessons, which are often left out and often misinterpreted. Perhaps in the famous description of the parables as dark sayings which the people “hear yet do not hear,” we have the protest of some earnest but prosy teacher, whose audience liked the parables but grew sleepy during the application. If the parables, which lent themselves to moralizing, were cherished as stories, would it be otherwise with actual incidents from the Life of Jesus? The separation of “things done” from “things spoken” need not be due, as Dr. Bacon makes out, to the influence of Pauline emphasis on the work as against the teaching. Far more likely it points to the simple fact that the narrative had an existence of its own. It served to confirm the message, but its primary purpose was to satisfy the natural curiosity about the doings of Jesus.

We would therefore question the principle that the gospels must be viewed, almost exclusively, as theological documents. It might just as well be argued that the histories of Joseph and David have no other object than to illustrate the prophetic teaching. To be sure they are written in a religious spirit, and reflect the development of certain ideas; but who can doubt

that their chief purpose is to tell something about Joseph and David? The gospels, in like manner, aim at describing the ministry and death of Jesus. Their historical interest is not to be placed third or fourth, but first. It does not follow that they must be accepted throughout as strict history. Legendary elements have entered into them; incidents have been colored and magnified to make them more effective in the telling. The stories as told for their own sake are perhaps less trustworthy than if they had come down, incidentally, as "preacher's anecdotes." None the less they are meant not to enforce abstract ideas but to preserve the memory of events. It is not the theologian but the historian who must finally pronounce on their value.

The time has not yet come for this judgment on the historical validity of the gospels. This is the ultimate issue, but before it can be faced the records themselves must be sifted more thoroughly, and the study of them, as we have seen from these books, has become more involved than ever. One begins to wonder whether there is any solution to the great problem which has exercised the minds of scholars for more than a century. Yet to this attitude of despair such books as these provide the best corrective. It may not be possible to accept all their conclusions, but they certainly throw light on many dark places. They indicate lines of approach which were formerly unsuspected. They enable us to view the old problems in a larger setting. The enquiry, which seemed for a time to be leading nowhere, is again moving forward. If the difficulties are great, criticism is learning to meet them with new resources, and may finally discover the true path.

THE WASHINGTON MS. OF THE GOSPELS

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ONE of the great glories of the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington is the ms. of the Four Gospels, commonly cited as W, which was bought in Egypt in 1906, and may have been found in the ruins of an Egyptian monastery. With regard to it Professor A. S. Hunt, after again looking at photographs of the ms., writes me: "A date within the fourth century seems to me quite possible, but the early fifth century is not to be excluded. Personally I should incline to put it towards the end of the fourth century. . . . But . . . the first quire of John is obviously considerably later." Thus W is probably the third oldest ms. of the gospels in Greek. Yet on account of the extraordinary variety in the types of early text contained in it, W is of all MSS. the most enigmatic. I hope in this article to contribute something towards the solution of the enigma.

A very thorough and careful study of the ms. with a complete collation was published by Professor H. A. Sanders of Michigan in 1912.¹ Sanders shows that in Matthew, and in Luke 8, 13 to the end of the gospel, the great majority of its readings conform to the Byzantine text, that is, the type of text, which Hort calls 'Syrian' and Sanders 'Antiochian,' found in the immense majority of MSS., and of which the Textus Receptus is a slightly degenerate form. But in John 5, 12 to the end of the gospel, and Luke 1, 1-8, 12, W is in general a supporter of the Alexandrian text, which Hort names the 'Neutral' and Sanders speaks of as the 'Hesychian,' and of which B⁸ are the typical representatives. The quire containing John

¹ Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Freer Collection, University of Michigan, 1912. The prolegomena with full collation and two facsimile pages are included in *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. VIII), New York, 1912.

1, 1-5, 11 in W was written by a different scribe, on a different kind of parchment and at a different date from the rest of the ms., and must have been added later to supply the loss of a quire; it cannot be regarded as part of the same manuscript, and for the purpose of this article may be ignored. The most notable feature, however, in W is its text of Mark. In Mark 1, 1-5, 30 W is the Greek equivalent of the Old Latin version, having special affinities with e and c; and therefore ranks with D as an authority for the Western text. But after Mark 5, 30 there is yet another change in the character of the text. In regard to this I have recently made a discovery which it is one of the main purposes of this article to work out.

Sanders points out that in the first three gospels there are a minority of readings, perhaps 20 per cent of the whole, which are characteristic neither of the Byzantine nor of the Alexandrian text. He deduces — correctly, I believe, in view of the numerous analogies elsewhere — that these readings represent an older type of text, which in Matthew and the latter part of Luke has been drastically revised into conformity with the Byzantine text, and in John and the first part of Luke into conformity with the Alexandrian text. Unfortunately, he consistently speaks of this older and unrevised text as “the version tradition” — a misleading description (as if it were a single text) of that whole mass of variants, not found in either the Alexandrian or the Byzantine text, which von Soden lumps together (again mistakenly) under the name of “the I-text.”

The discovery mentioned above concerns the character of the text of W in the section Mark 5, 31-16, 8. Sanders had already pointed out (p. 73) that the most interesting feature in this was “the increase in the number of agreements with fam 13 (Ferrar group) and the other Syriacizing mss., fam 1, 565, and 28.” Since he wrote these words light has been shed on the subject from three directions. (1) The readings of the Koridethi ms. (Θ) have been made known to the world. (2) The true relation of the text of Θ, on the one hand to D, on the other to what Sanders calls “the Syriacizing mss.” was made clear in an article by Lake in this REVIEW for July 1923. (3) I myself in “The Four Gospels” (1924) showed a connection between

the text of these MSS. and that current in Caesarea about A.D. 230.

Lake showed that von Soden made a great mistake in putting Θ, 28, 565, and 700 in the same class with D. D and the Old Latin represent a distinct type of text, to which the title 'Western' is properly applied; Θ and its allies (1 etc., 13 etc., 28, 565, and 700) represent another and markedly different type of text, closely allied to, but not identical with, the text of the Old Syriac — a type, therefore, which would seem to be more appropriately named an 'Eastern' text.

The connection of the cursive allies of Θ with one another had already been pointed out by Lake as long ago as 1902,² but the discovery of Θ has enormously strengthened his case; and in his article in this REVIEW he showed that this group of MSS. preserves an ancient local text. All the representatives of the group have suffered revision — but each to a different extent and in different passages — into conformity with the Byzantine text. Accordingly, by ignoring in this family of MSS. those readings that agree with the Byzantine text, we can get back to the ancient local text represented by their non-Byzantine element.

In my book "The Four Gospels" I carried Lake's argument a little further, and showed that this residual non-Byzantine text was used by Origen in writings produced *after* he had permanently settled in Caesarea in A.D. 231. When in Alexandria Origen had used the B^x-text. Accordingly I ventured to call the type of Eastern text recoverable from the Θ-family 'the Caesarean text.'

Some time after my book was published it occurred to me to see whether there was any connection between the text of W in Mark, 5, 31-16, 8 and the fundamental text of the six principal authorities for this Caesarean text, viz. Θ, 1 etc., 13 etc., 28, 565, and 700. I chose three chapters, v, x, and xv, from the beginning, middle, and end of the section, as likely to be representative. In these chapters, ignoring mere mistakes in spelling, there are in all 260 readings in which W differs from the Re-

² Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies (Texts and Studies VII), Cambridge, England, 1902, p. lxxiii.

ceived Text. In 37 of these the reading of W is not supported by any other ms. or version. Most of these 37 look like mistakes by the scribe of W, or of an immediate ancestor; but however this may be, we may ignore 'singular' readings when our purpose is to discover with which, if any, of the main types of text a particular ms. is connected. Of the remaining 223 readings, 189 (about 85 per cent) are found in one or more of the six authorities above named for the Caesarean text.

To investigate the converse of this relationship, that is, to ascertain what proportion of the non-Byzantine readings in the Θ -family occur also in W, is a much more laborious process. Indeed, it can only be done properly by drawing up elaborate tables, such as that by Lake in his article in this REVIEW or those in "The Four Gospels," pp. 528 ff. With the assistance of a friend I have made one for Mark, chapter xi.

In Mark, chapter xi, W differs from the Received Text in 67 readings, of which 8 are 'singular.' Of the remaining 59, W is supported in 47 by one or more members of the Θ -group. Thus here, much as in the other chapters tested, 80 per cent of the readings of W (other than 'singular' readings) belong to the text of the Θ -group. But my table enabled me also to see that there are 17 readings in which at least two members of the Θ -group (reckoning 1 etc. and 13 etc., as only one each) agree against the Byzantine text, which do *not* occur in W. And I noticed that in 14 out of these 17 cases W has the Byzantine reading; in one case (Mk. 11, 13) it has a reading which looks like a clumsy correction of the family by the Byzantine text, and in one it has a 'singular' reading. Thus in only one reading out of the 17 does W support any other text against both the Θ -text and the Byzantine text.³ Also, if W be reckoned as a member of the Θ -family, it is notable that it contains 47 out of 64 (or about 73 per cent) of the total number of family readings. We can only conclude that in this part of Mark W represents the Caesarean text in a very pure form, but has suffered, though to a comparatively small extent, from a Byzantine reviser.

³ Among the 17 cases there are three in which, the family being divided against itself, one or more members of the family support W.

The interest of this discovery lies, not merely in the establishment of the true character of the text of this part of W, but in the fact that conclusive evidence is now furnished of the correctness of Lake's hypothesis that the non-Byzantine element in Θ and its allies represents a *single type* of early text. Now that we can point to a ms. of the fifth century or earlier which preserves the Caesarean text in so pure a form, the existence of such a text is no longer a matter of mere hypothesis.

At first sight this discovery renders the problem of the mixture of texts in W even more acute; for here in a single manuscript we find represented the Eastern, the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Byzantine texts, each used in one gospel or in a considerable section of a gospel. We shall see, however, on further consideration that a clue is afforded for unravelling the mystery.

Six outstanding facts control our investigation:

(1) In W, as in D and most of the Old Latin mss., the gospels stand in the Western order, viz., Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

(2) The paragraph divisions of Matthew found in W are practically identical with those in D (Sanders, p. 17).

(3) In Matthew, John, Luke (the three gospels which stand first) the majority of the non-Byzantine and non-Alexandrian readings of W (which Sanders rightly regards as remains of an earlier text that have escaped the notice of revisers) are of the Western type. But a certain number, especially in Luke, are characteristic of the Caesarean text.

(4) The first part of Mark in W is pure Western, the latter part represents the Caesarean text with very slight Byzantine revision.

(5) The part of the ms. affected by the Alexandrian revision is the central part of the ms.; that is, it comprises John and the part of Luke which follows immediately after John.

(6) The character of the corrections made by the original scribe suggests that the ms. which he copied had numerous corrections, some of which he had at first overlooked (Sanders, p. 31).

All these facts can be accounted for on the following hypoth-

esis. An ancestor of W came from the West — most probably from Rome, from the Greek text of which city the African Latin version is probably descended. It was brought to Caesarea. Before or after its arrival there, the binding being loosened, it lost some quires at the end — the beginning and end of a manuscript are always the most likely to suffer. Now in a manuscript in which the gospels are arranged in the Western order, damage to the end would mean the loss of the latter part of Mark. This is not a mere guess: it has actually happened in the case of the four Old Latin mss., a, b, e, and f. Suppose that this happened to the ancestor of W. Its owner would get a Caesarean scribe to replace the lost leaves from a local manuscript. This at once explains how in Mark 1, 1-5, 30 the text is Western, while the rest of the gospel has the Caesarean text. Also, during its stay at Caesarea, the ms. would inevitably accumulate a few corrections in the other gospels from the text current in that locality. This would account for the sprinkling of Caesarean readings found elsewhere.

Suppose next that the ms., or a copy of it, was taken to Egypt. The gospel most read in Egypt was that according to John. Naturally, therefore, an Alexandrian reviser would first of all work on the text of John. Having finished John, it would be natural to go on with Luke, since in this manuscript Luke followed immediately after John; but after reaching Luke 8, 12 he gave up his task.⁴ Why, we do not know; but there are other instances of a corrector's doing this; for instance, the corrector of κ whom Tischendorf calls κ^b corrected the earlier chapters of Matthew most scrupulously, and did practically nothing else; and the same thing must have happened to an ancestor of L, which gives an almost Byzantine text for Mt. 1, 1-17, 25. The ms. may have been left alone for fifty years or so; then another corrector took up the work, this time using the Byzantine text as his standard. The papyri show that by the sixth century the Byzantine text had begun to penetrate Egypt; but it is not unlikely that priests or monks from Antioch or Constantinople had brought in copies long before that

⁴ Possibly some of the sporadic 'Hesychian' readings in Matthew (Sanders, p. 53) were due to this corrector.

date.⁵ But this last corrector, seeing that in John and part of Luke the ms. was already covered with corrections, did not take the trouble to scrutinize carefully their character, and confined his own attention to Matthew and the part of Luke which had escaped the earlier Alexandrian corrector. This might happen the more easily because the Byzantine text is closely akin to the Alexandrian, so that perhaps three-fourths of the 'Western' readings which a Byzantine reviser would alter would already have been corrected in the same way by the Alexandrian corrector. It is a constant phenomenon to find mss. which had been thoroughly revised for the three gospels that were most read, but in which the text of Mark has been left comparatively untouched.⁶ It is, therefore, not surprising that in Mark the Byzantine corrector of W scamped the revision.

Our W is a clean copy of this much-corrected original. I say 'copy' advisedly rather than 'descendant,' since it is unlikely that in Egypt a Byzantine reviser would have been at work much earlier than the actual scribe of W.

This hypothesis explains the facts better than that propounded by Sanders (p. 139), who holds that the ms. was copied from six different fragments in some region where the attempt of Diocletian to destroy the sacred books had been nearly successful. The suggestion, for example, that Mark 1, 1-5, 30 represents a ms. for which "some one had to send to North Africa" to fill a gap, while it explains the Western text in this part of Mark, fails to account for the fact that all four gospels are arranged in the Western order, for the Western paragraphing in Matthew, or for the undercurrent of Western readings which are especially notable in Matthew and John. These phenomena can hardly be explained without postulating

⁵ Cf. Oxyrhynchus Papyri I, No. 3. A vellum leaf of the fifth-sixth century contains a fragment of Mark with Byzantine text. A fragment of a papyrus lectionary of the same date in the Rainer collection in Vienna has this text; and a lectionary is likely to be based on an already familiar text. Most fifth-century papyri have a text predominantly Alexandrian, but several of them have a sprinkling of Byzantine readings, and thus betray the presence of such texts in Egypt. I cannot quote the Codex Alexandrinus as evidence for a fifth-century Byzantine text in Egypt because I do not believe it was written in Egypt (cf. "The Four Gospels," p. 120), although it was long domiciled there.

⁶ Cf. "The Four Gospels," pp. 63 f.

a *single* ancestor of a Western type. But granted such an ancestor, the fact that Mark would conclude the volume explains at once how a damaged end could be supplied from a Caesarean text, while, since the ms. was discovered in Egypt, there is nothing remarkable in finding that an ancestor has been subjected to revision by an Alexandrian text, as well as by the more ordinary Byzantine text.

THE TEXT OF THE DE VIRGINITATE OF ATHANASIUS

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THE edition of the "De Virginitate" of Athanasius by Eduard von der Goltz (*Texte und Untersuchungen* xxix, 1905) is one of the most important contributions made in modern times to the knowledge of the text of Athanasius, because of its full discussion of the variant readings of the manuscripts. The work, however, was handicapped by incomplete knowledge of the Patmos ms. (P), which von der Goltz regarded as the best, and by almost complete ignorance of the two Vatopedi mss. quoted by him under the symbols W¹ and W², but in the present article designated A and K, since that nomenclature was adopted in the first article on their contents in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. v, 1903, pp. 108 ff.

A visit to Athos and Patmos in 1925 has made it possible to build a little further on von der Goltz's foundation, and to correct some of the errors inevitable to the conditions under which he worked. We shall here give:

(I) A fuller account of P.

(II) A list of corrections to be made in von der Goltz's collation of P.

(III) A collation, with von der Goltz's edition, of the text of the two Vatopedi mss. A and K, and of a third ms. in the same library, which we call Q.

(IV) Some discussion of the general problem of the text of the "De Virginitate."

I

Codex P (Patmos 3).

This is a parchment ms. of probably the eleventh century, with one column of writing to the page, varying from 26 to 30 lines. It is obviously written by several hands, and investigation reveals a complicated and curious problem.

The beginning of the ms. is lost, and the present f. 1 contains the signature of the fourth gathering, so that presumably about 24 folia are missing. The fourth and fifth gatherings (ff. 1-16) are complete, and written by scribe A with 30 lines to a page, but the sixth gathering, beginning on f. 17, is of only four folia, and of these the fourth has been cut down to a 'guard,' is not numbered, and plainly never contained anything. On f. 20 the seventh gathering begins, written by scribe B, a contemporary and similar though clearly distinct hand, who also writes 30 lines to the page. The seventh, eighth, and ninth gatherings (ff. 28-43) are complete, and are signed ζ, η, and θ respectively; but whereas the signatures of the previous gatherings were written both at the beginning and the end of each gathering, the signatures in ζ, η, and θ are found only at the end of each. They are by a different hand, and it is not clear to us that it is contemporary, though it probably is so. The tenth gathering originally contained ten folia, but the tenth, on which presumably stood the signature, has been cut down to a guard. It was probably blank, and f. 52^v ends with a colophon of some sort, erased and wholly illegible except for the tantalizing survival of the last word (ἀμῆν).

On f. 53 a new scribe (C) begins to write, and continues until f. 277^r (277^v is blank). His is a contemporary, but quite distinct hand, with only 26 lines to the page, and the written page is 19.9 centimetres, as against the 20.8 of the written page in the previous gathering. Moreover this gathering is numbered α', so that with it a new numeration of gatherings begins. Thus it is clear that f. 53 was originally the beginning of a new ms.

After f. 53 there is no change of hand until after f. 277^v, which is blank. The numeration of the gatherings proceeds regularly from α' to κθ' except that ια' contains only seven folia,

the first having no conjugate, and $\kappa\theta'$ has 10 folia, the verso of the last being blank. There is no colophon.

On f. 278 a fourth scribe (D) begins, and writes until f. 298 ν ; he too writes 26 lines to the page, but his written column is about four millimetres longer than that of scribe C. On f. 299 still another scribe (E) begins a new gathering, which, like those at the beginning of the ms., is ruled for 30 lines to a page and has a slightly larger column of script. Scribe E wrote only one folium and 23 lines of another, where scribe A again took up the pen, and wrote to the end of the present manuscript.

The signatures of the gatherings from f. 278 to the end are obscure. Folium 278 has a signature λ' continuing the sequence of the previous gatherings, but it does not appear to be contemporary. On f. 286 there is a signature $\lambda\alpha'$, but it is not contemporary, and three folia have been cut out at the end of this gathering, making a lacuna in the text of the "Ad Marcelinum." On f. 291 there is another signature $\lambda\alpha'$, and this is repeated at the end of the gathering on f. 298 ν .

To reconstruct from these facts the diplomatic history of the present manuscript is a sufficiently hard problem. It seems clear that f. 53 is proved by the signature to have been once the beginning of a new volume, and the identity of hand in the first and last pages of the manuscript shows that there is a close connection between ff. 1-52 and 278-304. It would be reasonable to suggest that ff. 53-277 were originally a separate ms., and have been bound up with the fragments of another, part of which was put on at the beginning and part at the end. The binder left the original signatures in the central ms. and in the gatherings prefixed, but continued the numeration of the central ms. in the gatherings added at the end. In this case the later signatures in the last gatherings are due to the binder who made up the present volume. The present cover is, however, still later, and a note at the beginning gives the date of the cover as 1829, ascribing it to the generosity of the monk Nicephorus. The only difficulty about this theory is that it is hard to see why no traces of the original signatures appear in the last gatherings. They have probably been cut off, though

those which remain in the earlier gatherings are well inside the limits of the present page.

A consideration of some facts pointed out by von der Goltz suggests further possibilities, although the new evidence somewhat changes his interpretation.

Continuing the researches of Dr. Wallis (*Journal of Theological Studies*, 1903) von der Goltz showed that one of the primary facts in the manuscript tradition of Athanasius is the existence of a collection of twenty-one documents:

1. Oratio contra gentes.
2. Oratio de incarnatione verbi.
3. Disputatio contra Arium.
4. Epistola ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae.
5. Oratio I contra Arianos.
6. Oratio II contra Arianos.
7. Oratio III contra Arianos.
8. De incarnatione et contra Arianos.
9. Epistola encyclica.
10. Epistola I ad Serapionem.
11. Epistola II ad Serapionem.
12. Epistola catholica (Migne, xxviii. 81).
13. Refutatio hypocrisis Meletii.
14. Epistola ad Epictetum.
15. Contra Apollinarium liber II.
16. Contra Apollinarium liber I.
17. Εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ λόγον κ. τ. λ. (Migne xxvi. 649).
18. De passione (Migne xxviii. 204-208, fragment).
19. Epistola ad Marcellinum.
20. De virginitate.
21. De communi essentia patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

This group of writings is found to be an integral part of all the great collections of Athanasian documents. It is found without addition in L (the Burney codex) and in combination with others in B (the Basel codex). But in the Cambridge ms., Trin. Coll. b. 9, 7 (C), and in the Venetian ms., Marciana 369 (D), von der Goltz noticed that, although the same 21

treatises are found, the order is different. The first eleven are as follows:

1. Oratio contra gentes.
2. Oratio de incarnatione verbi.
3. Epistola ad Dracontium.
4. Epistola ad Afros episcopos.
5. Apologia de fuga sua.
6. De incarnatione dei verbi.
7. Liberii epistola.
8. Athanasii rescripta ad Liberium.
9. Epistola ad Adelphium episcopum.
10. In illud 'profecti in pagum.'
11. Homilia de semente.

Of these nos. 1 and 2 are 1 and 2 in the list of L; 3, 4, and 5 come from some other collection, of which traces are found in the Basel, Paris, and Vatopedi 'corpus' MSS.; 6-10 are found in the Basel corpus in the same order immediately after the L group of 21; and no. 11 is not found elsewhere.

After this come nos. 12-20, corresponding to L 8-16; 21-25, corresponding to L 3-7; and 26-30 corresponding to L 17-21; and finally the collection is closed by two more treatises, 31 and 32, which are not in the L collection but are nos. 27 and 28 in the Basel codex.

Von der Goltz noted that in the treatise "De Virginitate" the Patmos MS. is textually the same as C D. Therefore, observing that P is imperfect at the beginning and possibly incomplete, and that the treatises in it correspond to C D 14-29, he concluded naturally, but erroneously, that P was another member of the same group. He was not, and could not be, aware of the curious facts which are revealed by the diplomatic investigation of the MS., given in the previous paragraphs.

The fact that the first gathering of the MS. is numbered δ' shows that three gatherings, comprising presumably 24 ff., are missing. This would account for more than the portion of the first letter to Serapion that is now missing. The present first page of the MS. begins *καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίσας*, which is the last line but one on p. 180 of the Cologne edition

of 1686. The preceding part of the letter would require about two and one-half folia of the ms. for its completion, and the remaining twenty-one and one-half folia would be filled up by the two treatises, "De incarnatione et contra Arianos" and "Epistola encyclica," which precede the letters to Serapion in the Basel Corpus and in L.

If we assume that ff. 53-277 originally formed the first volume of a collection of Athanasian writings, and that ff. 1-52 + 278-304 + the 24 folia now missing formed part of a second volume, we should have a collection of 18 treatises in exactly the order of B and L, but leaving out the first two of the L collection — the "Contra gentes" and the "De incarnatione." This hypothesis, moreover, is removed from the sphere of pure guessing by the fact that an early hand has put the number *ια'* (11) against the "Refutatio hypocrisis Meletii," which is the place which it would have had on this theory.

Thus von der Goltz was almost certainly wrong in thinking that P originally had the whole collection found in C D. Considerably more light is thrown on the subject by an examination of Codex Venet. Marc. 369 (von der Goltz's D), and once more it is clear how much he lost by not seeing the ms. with his own eyes. He took D as a witness to an early collection of Athanasian material arranged in an order different from that of B — "eine relativ selbständige Gruppierung der Athanasiuschriften . . . die älter ist als die Combinationen BO und E."

But D proves, like P, to be two manuscripts, not one. The older of these two, probably a late twelfth century manuscript, is apparently complete. It begins on f. 96 and goes on to the end of the present volume. It is written on vellum, and both the gatherings and treatises are numbered, so that it clearly has lost nothing at the beginning.

This ms. begins with the treatise "De incarnatione et contra Arianos" (L 3) and the "Epistola Catholica" (L 4), just as P probably did before it lost its first three gatherings. From that point on it repeats exactly the order of P, but adds at the end three more treatises: (1) "De communi essentia patris et filii et spiritus sancti" (L 21); (2) "Sermo in annuntiationem"

(B 27); and (3) "De passione domini et de cruce" (B 27). It is quite possible that P once contained these treatises, for the last pages are in bad condition, and there is nothing to show that it is complete.

Investigation of the text of D confirms the suggestion that the vellum part of D is a copy of P. Von der Goltz's edition indicated great similarity, but a comparison of the actual manuscript with our own collation of P proved that the relation is much closer than von der Goltz's apparatus suggests. A few examples of small points of similarity, missed in his collation, will suffice to show how close the agreement is. The references are to pages and lines of von der Goltz's edition.

44. 10 ἡλπισεν for ἡλπικεν
 53. 18 θέλεις for θέλῃς
 55. 9 αὐτόν for αὐτῷ
 56. 17 ὅσα for ὅσον
 57. 16 αὐτόν for αὐτῷ
 58. 20 φυλάξεις for φυλάξῃς
 60. 3 καταφρονήσει

Agreement in an order of treatises which in P is due only to the caprice of a binder, combined with such complete textual identity, demonstrates that the vellum part of D is a copy of P, made after P had been arranged in its present form. It is quite probable that it was made on Patmos, and conversely, arguing from the date of D, the present combination of mss. in P must have been made before the end of the twelfth century.

The second manuscript now contained in D is written on Italian paper by a fifteenth-century scribe. As the manuscript belonged to Bessarion, it was not improbably written for him, and an investigation of the hands of the scribes who wrote at that time might give positive results. Another hand wrote out an index for this and for the older manuscript which was then bound up with it. This index is the basis of the order ascribed by von der Goltz to the P C D group, but it is clearly only the perpetuation of two early binders' arrangements. The paper manuscript has nothing to do with P,

which never contained the treatises which von der Goltz calls P C D 1-11.

Two more points remain to be considered.

(a) The Cambridge ms. (C), Trinity College b. 9, 7, reproduces exactly the order of D. It was written in the sixteenth century by Emmanuel of Monembasia, who was also the scribe of M (see Walter, J. T. S., vol. iii, pp. 108, 254), and bought in Italy by John Christopherson, Master of Trinity. In view of the facts given above there can be little doubt but that it is a copy of D, as von der Goltz surmised.

(b) What was the archetype of the paper part of D? So far as the order of the treatises is concerned it seems to be related to the collection found in B. It begins with the "Contra gentes" and the "De incarnatione," which are treatises 1 and 2 in B; it then goes on to three treatises which are found towards the end of B, (1) "Epistola ad Dracontium" = B 82, (2) "Epistola ad Afros" = B 83, and (3) "Apologia de fuga sua" = B 57; then, apparently returning to the first part of B, it adds, in the same order as in B, the treatises which in B are 22-26, and which are omitted in the vellum part of D. Finally it adds one more treatise, "De semente," which has not yet been found in any manuscript of Athanasius except D and C. It is this fact which is really puzzling and invalidates any suggestion that the writer of the paper part of D had merely a ms. of the B-type, which he used to supplement his other material.

There is much to be said for the suggestion of von der Goltz that in addition to the collection of 21 treatises the compiler had a little collection of Athanasian sermons. But of course this does not apply, as he thought, to P, although, if the treatises which in D come after the "De Virginitate" were once in P, it follows that P was based on a collection containing more than the 21 treatises of L, or at least that the scribe had access to more material than was in that collection.

The origin of the "De semente" remains a puzzle. It is almost certainly spurious, but it is strange that it is not known before the fifteenth century.

II

Corrections to be made in von der Goltz's text.

Our collation brought to light four printer's errors in von der Goltz's text:

- p. 38, l. 26 πλησίον should be πλησίον.
- p. 40, l. 22 after φοβούμαι ἐγώ the words τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐπιτάξαντα have been accidentally omitted.
- p. 42, l. 15 θεοῦ is a misprint for θεοῦ.
- p. 48, l. 18 between ἀλλά and ὑπό the word νεωτέραν has been omitted.

To these should almost certainly be added:

- p. 41, l. 27 ψεύδος should be read in the text, and κεύδος be put in the apparatus as the reading of M.
- p. 38, l. 6 περί seems to have been omitted before Δάθαν.

Besides these, comparison with the ms. showed the following errors in the copy of P which von der Goltz used. We have included in this list the variations of our observations as to the illegibility of certain passages from those of von der Goltz's copyist. The upper outside corner of the ms. seems at some time to have been wet with a liquid which has turned it a reddish brown and greatly injured its texture. The severity of the injury grows worse and worse in succeeding folia, and after f. 298 a semicircular piece of vellum has disappeared from the corner. Moreover the decay is still getting worse. This at least partly accounts for some of the differences between our collation and that of von der Goltz.

The title ἥτοι περὶ ἀσκήσεως stands in P

- 35.5 . . . τῶν καὶ ἀοράτων illegible
- 5 erasure for εἰς
- 20 ἐξήγαγον for ἐξήγαγεν
- 36.5 om κύριος
- 9 -τ' αὐτῆς καὶ ὠκοδό illegible
- 10 γυναικα καὶ ἤγαγεν illegible
- 11 νῦν stands in P
- 15 om 1st αὐτοῦ

- 37.4 om αὐτῆς
 7 αὐτῇ ἢ μερι illegible
 30 πολλῶν ἀνε- illegible
 38.1 -ων ὑβρι- illegible
 2 ὑποφέρειν not ὑποφέρει (ν represented by a horizontal line)
 5 ἡιδύνατο (sic) for ἡδύνατο
 12 ἐβάσταξε for ἐβάσταζε
 21-22 ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς δυναστει- illegible
 23 θέλων illegible
 39.18 -έχθη ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀλλ' ἡ illegible
 19 -τωτερα illegible
 40.14 αὐτῶν for αὐτοῖς
 14 ὁ γάρ stands in P
 41.8 λέγονται illegible
 8-9 σωτήρος εἰρημέ stands in P
 24 μόνος for μόνον
 42.1 -πον αὐτοῦ ἀπώλεσε illegible
 1 συ stands in P
 2 -τες ὅς- illegible
 7 ὁ λογισμός for λογισμός
 23 -ὺς προάξῃς εἰς τὴν βασι illegible
 43.7 om σου
 23 ἐν τῇ stands in P
 44.10 ἤλπισεν for ἤλπιεν
 21 πρεσβύτις for πρεσβύτης
 23 βαφῇ illegible
 45.19-20 -σιν οὐδὲ μὴ ἐκτρίψῃ illegible
 46.1 αὐτῇ for αὐτῇ
 12 ἐνάτη for ἐνάτη
 14-15 ὥρα ὁ κύριος κρεμά- illegible
 47.5 om 2nd ὁ
 48.13 μὴ ἀγαπήσης illegible
 16 erasure for νεωτέραν
 18 ἀλλὰ νεωτέραν ὑπό for ἀλλὰ ὑπό
 23 προσκρούει for προσκρούει
 49.2 ἀποδίδωσι τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς τίμιον
 3 add. καί does not stand in P

- 49.24 αἰσχροάν not αἰσχροάρ
 50.10 αὐτῶν for αὐτόν
 29 προσέταττεν stands in P
 52.6 οἷαν ἀνομίαν ἐξήλει illegible
 10 ἡμεῖς + ἐκείνοις
 25 o superscript by later(?) hand
 53.4 ὁποῖα ἀγαθὰ μέλ illegible
 5 -νάπανσιν illegible
 8 διαλλαξάντων for διαξάντων
 17 om τήν
 17 P reads θέλῃς
 18 P reads θέλῃς
 18 om ἐπί
 20 ἀπέχει for 1st ἀπό
 54.5 -οὔσι καὶ ἐκεῖ πάλιν τό
 6 κλαῦσαι ὁ- illegible
 16-17 ἄλλος ὁ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ
 55.9 μέλλει for μέλει
 11 ἀποδόσει for ἀποδώσει
 16 ὑμῖν corrected above line by later hand to ἡμῖν
 16-17 στίχον τὸν τοῦτον
 19 τελέσεις corrected in rasura to τελέσῃς
 26 μία for μίαν
 56.2 P reads διάφανμα
 5 -ην φυλάξωμεν τήν illegible
 6 σου ἐξ ὅλης illegible
 17 P reads ἔχει
 18 P does not add τοῦ
 57.9 προέρχεσθαι illegible
 58.4 βαθμόν + ὑμῶν
 9-10 ποίει ἵνα μὴ ἐμ illegible
 10 τῶν μειζοτέ- illegible
 10 P reads ἐμπαίζῃ
 25 -ουσα τὸ ἐλ- illegible
 20 P reads φυλάξῃς
 59.1 -γα σου τὰ illegible
 9 P reads καταμόνας
 10 ἀγνεία μεγάλα ἐγκώ- illegible

- 59.11-13 παρθενεία spelling in 11 and 13; in 12 παρθενία is illegible
- 13 P reads μαργαρίτα τίμιε
- 16 P reads δὲ ἀξίοις
- 16 δὲ ἃ illegible
- 20 στέφανε for στεφανός
- 25 σοι illegible
- 60.3 λόγους τούτους καὶ κατ'- illegible
- 5 δῶη σοι illegible
- 6 εσθαι illegible

III

In the following collation with von der Goltz's text we have used K to represent Vatopedi 5, the great fourteenth-century corpus ms. of Athanasius; A to represent Vatopedi 7, the twelfth-century, or more probably thirteenth-century, corpus ms.; and Q to represent Vatopedi 605, a paper manuscript, of which the existence was revealed by the catalogue of Sophronios Eustratiades and Arcadius (*Harvard Theological Studies* XI, 1924). A description and discussion of K and A was given in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. ii, 1900, pp. 245 ff. K is von der Goltz's W² and A is his W¹. Q is a paper ms. which the catalogue dates as belonging to the thirteenth century. It seemed to us to be probably at least a century later, and younger rather than older than K. It is badly written and in poor condition, and, as a glance at the catalogue shows, is a collection of writings, mostly on the religious life, chosen on no apparent plan. It does not contain any Athanasian writings except the "De Virginitate." As the collation shows, it contains many singular readings, but we do not think it has any claim to be regarded as important. When not obviously wrong it almost always agrees with K, with which it is clearly connected. Indeed it may be a very careless copy of K. After each reading we have noted in brackets the support given to it by von der Goltz's apparatus, but for this purpose we have corrected from our own collation his statement of the evidence of P.

- 35.18 ἐξήγαγε (in rasura) for ἐπήγαγε Q
 20 ἐξήγαγον for ἐξήγαγεν K (with PD)
 36.5 χούν λαβών for λαβών χούν Q
 11 οὖν for νῦν Q
 18 ἐνωτίζονται for ἐνωτίζου KAQ (with PCD*BELM)
 18 καταδεξάσθωσαν KAQ (with BOELMG)
 24 φθαρτοῖς for θνητοῖς KAQ (with BEOLMG)
 37.4 ἀνδρί without αὐτῆς KAQ (with PB)
 5 γοῦν for οὖν A
 5 ἡ καὶ χήρα Q
 19 αὐτῆς for ἐαυτῆς K (with BOLMG)
 28 ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων A
 38.1 καθὼς καὶ αὐτός for καθὼς αὐτός Q (with LMG)
 2 ταῦτα for ταῦτα K
 3 ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ Q
 6 τοὺς περὶ Δαθάν KAQ (with P, but omission of περὶ is probably a misprint)
 6-7 καπίη κελεύσει καὶ Q
 14 σοι for σε A
 26 ἀφαιρεῖν for ἀφυστερεῖν Q
 30 om φησί KQ
 39.1 εἰσὶ σοφοὶ τοῦ Q^{ms}
 14 ὁ σοφιζόμενος KQ (BO)
 25 ὑμῖν for ἡμῖν Q (with OLMG)
 40.3 om ὁ before Ἀδάμ A
 5 ταύτη γὰρ τῇ K
 5 τὸ σῶμά σου KQ (with B(O)LMG)
 7 μύροις without 1st καὶ KQ
 7 om ἐν before ἱματίοις K
 14 ὑπακούσης KQ (with COLMG)
 14 αὐτῶν for αὐτοῖς KAQ (with PCB)
 15-18 om Δανιήλ . . . παῖδες
 19 αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν KAQ (with BO(E)LMG)
 21 φαγώμεθα for φαγόμεθα AQ
 27 ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ for ἡμῖν καὶ DQ
 41.27 ψεῦδος for κεύδος KAQ (with P [sic] and M, but there is probably a printer's error in von der Goltz's apparatus)

- 42.7 ὑποβάλλῃ for ὑποβάλῃ Q (with MG)
 8 om ὁ before ἐχθρός Q
 17 om μακάριος εἰ A
 24 τῷ θεῷ for θεῷ K
 43.10 ζημῇ for ζημοῖ Q
 19 μόνοις τοῖς ἀξίοις K
 44.3 κύριος for χριστός K
 8 om σχήματα K
 20 om μέν Q
 24 μαφόριόν σου for μαφόριον K
 45.5 οὐκ ἐπάρῃς ἄνω for οὐκ ἐπάρῃς Q
 20 ἐκτρίψῃς for ἐκτρίψῃ K
 21 om πᾶν A
 46.2 φρόντιζε for φρόντισον Q
 6 after στόματός σου add ἡγουν ἡ προσευχή αὐτῷ τῷ
 κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ βοήθει
 μοι Q
 10–11 om μετὰ . . . δεήσεως K
 16 συνταξιν for συναξιν A (with BOEL)
 22 τιμὴ καὶ κράτος for τιμὴ, κράτος Q
 47.1 καθεσθῇ for καθεσθῆς A
 5 ὑπῆρχεν for ὑπάρχει KQ
 5 om ταύτης KAQ
 48.1 τὸν ἄρτον σου φαγεῖν for φαγεῖν τὸν ἄρτον σου K
 23 προσκρούσει for προσκρούει KA (with P)
 49.8 om καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀμῆν on 49.20 A
 18 τιμίον (?) for ἡγαπημένου Q
 19 παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν) for παιδὸς
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ KQ (Q ἡμῶν ἡμῶν) (with
 BOELMG)
 22 om ζῶα Q
 50.7 αὐτά for αὐτοὺς K
 8 ἀπό for ὑπό KA (with BOELMG)
 10 ὁμολογοῦσι μὲν αὐτόν K
 10 om ἐν K
 51.3 ὑμνολογεῖ K (with E)
 9 πυκνότεραν for μακροτέραν KAQ (with BOELMG)
 52.4 ἀπαρνήσῃ με τρίς KAQ (with BOLMG)

- 52.10 ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐκείνοις ἀπακολουθήσαντες for ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἀπακο-
λουθήσαντες KAQP (ἀπακολουθήσαντες A) (ἐπακο-
λουθήσαντες K)
- 17 om τὰς after κολάσεις A
- 20 ἐξώτερον ἔνθα ὁ κλαυθμός Q
- 24 ἀδιηγήτους for ἀνεκδιηγήτους K
- 24 τρυφήν for ζώην Q
- 24 ἔτι οὐ λέγω K in rasura, A (with BO)
- 25 ὁ καθαρὸν ἔχων for ὁ ἔχων καθαρὸν K
- 25 ἔχων for ὁ A (cf. P*)
- 53.4 κληρονομήσαι for κληρονομεῖν KAQ (with BOELMG)
- 9 μόχθου καὶ καμάτων καὶ ἰδρώτων for μόχθου καὶ γενναίων
ἰδρώτων Q
- 10 ἐκτήσαντο ὅθεν καὶ οὐ μέλει for ἐκτήσαντο οἱ καταξιωθέντες
οὐ μέλει Q
- 10 μέλλει for μέλει A (with BMG)
- 17 κτήσασθαι τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔστιν κτήσασθαι τὴν
ζωήν A
- 54.5 om πάλιν Q
- 6 ἀκούσιον for διπλῶς δεῖ Q
- 6 ὦδε καινῶς (?) ἐμόχθησαν καὶ ἐκεῖ for ὦδε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ
εἰσὶ καὶ ἐκεῖ Q
- 25 ἔνεκα for ἔνεκεν Q
- 55.1 πρὸς for ἐπὶ Q
- 2 πρόσωπον for πρόσωπα KA (with BOELMG)
- 3 αὐτῶν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἀνελεημόνων ὑπὸ βίας for αὐτῶν μετὰ
βίας ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἀνελεημόνων Q
- 9-10 om δίκαιος . . . καὶ K
- 17 εἰπέ for εἶπον K
- 25 ὦσι for εἰσὶ Q
- 25 μία παραμία (sic) KA (cf. μία παρὰ μία P and μία
παραμίαν LMG)
- 56.3 om ὑμνεῖτε KAQ (with BOELMG)
- 12 om ἡμῶν after κύριος KP
- 13 ἀλλήλους for ἀλλήλων Q
- 13 om τὰς Q
- 17 ἀγάπην without τὴν K
- 23 om ἔχε after ὑπομονήν K

57.4-5	om ὑπὲρ ἄλλου . . . λυπηθήσῃ A (with B*E)
5	φωνήν without τήν K
23	ἐὰν δὲ καθίσῃς K
24	αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶν Q
58.1	ὥσι for εἰσί K, οὔσι Q (?)
4	βαθμόν ὑμῶν KAQ (with PBO)
4	περὶ γὰρ τῆς φιλοξενίας K
16	ποιεῖ αὐτάς KA (with BLMG)
59.1	om σου Q (with P)
23	κατοικήσει καὶ KA (with BOELMG), κατοικήσας καὶ Q (?)
60.2	λόγων for λεγομένων AQ (with BOELMG)

IV

The investigation of PKAQ, though in the main confirming von der Goltz's results, has thrown a somewhat clearer light on the relations subsisting between the mss. of "De Virginitate." Von der Goltz showed that there are four groups:

(1) The B-group, containing B O V and E, of which certainly V and possibly O are transcripts of B, while E has an independent value.

(2) The L-group, containing L M G T, of which L is much the best.

(3) The P-group, containing P C D, of which P is the best and may be the archetype of the others.

(4) The late Italian group, containing three mss. at Naples and Rome which he did not think sufficiently important to study in detail. It is therefore uncertain whether this group is textually different from the others.

In general he regarded the P-group as the best.

The collation given above shows that K Q form a fifth group, which is not identical with either the B, L, or P group. Of the two K has the better text. The 'singular' readings of Q have no claim to be considered.

A superficial investigation of K shows that it has 19 readings in which it agrees with B against von der Goltz's text, but in only two of these is B unsupported by either P or L:

(1) On p. 36, l. 24 KAQBEO read *ἀνθρώποις φθαρτοῖς* for *ἀνθρώποις θνητοῖς*, but LMG read *φθαρτοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, and von der Goltz's text is really only that of the P-group.

(2) On p. 52, l. 24 KABO read *καὶ τί ἔτι οὐ λέγω* for *τί ἔτι λέγω*, which is the reading of PCDLMS. Here too it might be argued that *τί ἔτι οὐ λέγω* is the harder reading and may be right, having been independently corrected by both the P and the L groups.

Thus there is no reason to suppose that there is any close connection between the K and the B groups.

Still less is there any reason to associate the K-group and the L-group. There seem to be no readings at all in which K and L agree against B and P.

Nor, finally, can K be classed with the P-group. It agrees with P against BL in four passages:

35.20 *ἐξήγαγον* for *ἐξήγαγεν*

48.24 *προσκρούσει* for *προσκρούει*

56.12 *om ἡμῶν* after *κύριος*

60.2 *λεγομένων* for *λόγων*

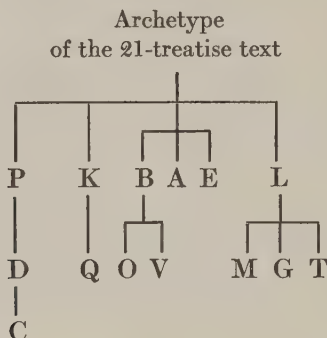
With the exception of the last these may be accidental, or further investigation might reveal an error of collation in B or L. Considering that there are about 37 singular readings in the P-group (mostly, it is true, of extreme unimportance), it is clear that the K-group does not belong to P any more than it does to B or L.

Q will be seen from the collation to go very closely with K, but though it has many peculiar readings, they are almost all without support, or intrinsic merit.

A is a more difficult problem. The decisive factor which seems to ally it with B is that on p. 57, ll. 4-5 it shares with B and E the omission by homoioteleuton of *ὑπὲρ ἄλλου . . . λυπηθήσῃ*. It also seems never to agree with any one of the three P, K, and L against B and the other two. On the other hand it does not share B's singular readings, nor those of E. We think therefore that it is another independent member of the B-group, probably of equal value with B in reconstructing the archetype of the group, which would be reached by a comparison of B, E, and A.

The final result is to show that, as von der Goltz thought, the text of the "De Virginitate" is the text of a collection of treatises of Athanasius, probably 21 in number, to which P belongs even more closely than von der Goltz had supposed.

The genealogical stem of the manuscripts, leaving out the late Italian group, which has not yet been investigated, is as follows:



It must however be understood that the relationship between the mss. in the lower line and those from which the diagram derives them, is not necessarily one of direct descent. It is, for instance, by no means clear that Q was directly copied from K, or O from B. But Q and O seem to add little to our knowledge of the groups, and nothing to our judgment as to the true text. Fortunately very few cases present themselves in which the four groups are split evenly. Almost always three groups stand against one, and probably the text of the "De Virginitate" is one of the cases in which a majority vote is likely to be right.

THE MESSALIANS; AND THE DISCOVERY OF THEIR ASCETIC BOOK

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THE publication in the "Harvard Theological Studies" in 1918 of *Macarii Anecdota*, consisting of seven new homilies attributed to St. Macarius of Egypt, has revived interest in the mystery surrounding the authorship of the Macarian writings, and this renewed interest has given birth to a discovery. The controversy over the authorship of these writings is — at least in main outline — at an end. We now know in what age, in what region, and in what school of thought they were produced. The actual individual who penned them remains unknown. Hopes of completing the discovery by tracking him down have led the present writer to defer the composition of this article until now. These hopes however will probably not be realized until a good many years of research have been expended. It seems therefore fitting to publish the discovery in its general form. In brief, the Homilies attributed to St. Macarius are really the work of an heretical sect of mendicant monks and mystics called Messalians, or Euchites.

The presbyter Gennadius of Marseilles ¹ mentions a letter of St. Macarius as his only literary production. This letter is preserved in Latin and printed in Migne, Vol. XXXIV, cols. 405-410.² On the other hand the manuscripts contain a considerable literature under St. Macarius's name — notably a Greek Letter,³ fifty-seven Homilies,⁴ and seven Tractates.⁵ The

¹ De Viris Illustribus 10, written according to Czapla in 467-480.

² See also an article by A. Wilmart, entitled 'La Lettre spirituelle de l'abbai Macaire,' in *Revue Ascétique et Mystique*, January 1920.

³ Migne, XXXIV, cols. 409-442. See L. Villecourt, 'La Grande Lettre Grecque de Macaire. Ses formes textuelles et son milieu littéraire,' in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, April 1920.

⁴ Migne, XXXIV, cols. 449-822; Harvard Theological Studies V, 1918.

⁵ Migne, XXXIV, cols. 821-968.

question is, Where do these documents which have been fathered on St. Macarius come from? The interest of this question is heightened by the fact that the writings are full of rich spiritual experience. Indeed they have proved a source of inspiration to modern mystics. Witness John Arndt, author of *De Vero Christianismo*, who knew the fifty Homilies by heart; ⁶ Pierre Poiret, who quoted freely from 'Macarius' and did not hesitate to call him the fountain-head of mystical theology; ⁷ Gottfried Arnold, the translator of 'Macarius,' who assigned to him a pre-eminent place in the history of mysticism; ⁸ and last but not least John Wesley, who translated twenty-two of the Homilies ⁹ and infused their spirit into some of his hymns.

The Messalians ¹⁰ arose in the second half of the fourth century at Edessa and in the surrounding parts of Mesopotamia. Their chief characteristic seems to have been to do nothing but pray. Holding that every one was possessed with a demon, they prayed continuously until the demon took flight in visible form, whereupon they claimed to enjoy union with God in a vivid and sensuous manner. Ecclesiastical action began to be taken against them before the close of the century. They were condemned at the Council of Side, presided over by Amphilochius the metropolitan of Iconium, and at the Council of Antioch, presided over by Flavian, the patriarch of that city. The General Council of Ephesus in 431 confirmed their condemnation and tried to suppress their book, which went by the name of *The Ascetic Book*.¹¹ The way in which the council went about its work is characteristic of the age. Extracts from

⁶ Joannis Arndtii *De vero christianismo, cura et studio* Ant. Wil. Boemi, 1708, Praefatio p. xvii.

⁷ P. Poiret, *Bibliotheca mysticorum selecta*, Amsterdam apud Wetstenios, I. Theol. mysticae idea generalis, p. 289 n.

⁸ Gothofredi Arnoldi *Historia et descriptio theologiae mysticae*, Frankfort, Thomas Fritsch, 1702, c. xi, sect. 5.

⁹ John Wesley, *A Christian Library*, vol. i, 1819, etc.

¹⁰ They have of course nothing to do with Marseilles, the ancient Massilia, nor with Messina, the ancient Messana from which the family of Marcus Valerius Messala is said to have derived its surname. The name is taken from the Syriac *meşallein*, *ἐψάλλειν*, 'praying men.'

¹¹ Mansi, *Conciliorum omnium amplissima collectio* (Latin text), t. iv, col. 1477; (Greek text), t. xii, col. 1025.

the book in the form of "blasphemous and heretical propositions"¹² were pronounced anathema. Fortunately for us the church proved unable to destroy the book. It was preserved under the shadow of a great name.¹³ This however is to anticipate. We must first inquire into its character and contents.

We know what sort of a composition to expect from the account of the Messalians furnished by Epiphanius,¹⁴ bishop of Salamis or Constantia in Cyprus, and Theodoret,¹⁵ bishop of Cyrrhus or Cyrus in the province of Euphratensis. But we are not limited to presumptive evidence of this character. We possess actual extracts from the Messalian book in the form of two separate lists of propositions, to which exception was taken. One is furnished by Timothy,¹⁶ presbyter of Constantinople, and the other by John of Damascus.¹⁷ The latter syllabus is expressly said to have been taken from the Messalian book, and is worth quoting at length:

SUMMARIES OF THE IMPIOUS DOCTRINE OF THE
MESSALIANS, TAKEN FROM THEIR BOOK

1. That Satan dwells personally with man and is master of him in every way.
2. That Satan and the demons possess the mind of men, and that the nature of men has fellowship with wickedness.
3. That Satan and the Holy Spirit dwell together in man, and that not even the apostles were free from the working of Satan's power in them.
4. That baptism does not make a man perfect, nor does participation in the sacred mysteries cleanse the soul, but only prayer, to which they sedulously apply themselves.

¹² Photius, Cod. LII, Migne, CIII, cols. 88-92.

¹³ The attribution to St. Macarius is found as early as A.D. 534, that being the date of the Syriac Ms. Add. 12175 in the British Museum.

¹⁴ Epiphanius (died 403), *Adversus haereses*, lib. iii. t. ii, haeresis 80, Migne, XLII, 2, cols. 156-773.

¹⁵ Theodoret (386-458), *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 10, Migne, LXXXII, col. 1141; *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, lib. iv, Migne, LXXXIII, cols. 429-432.

¹⁶ Timothy of Constantinople, *De receptione haereticorum*, Migne, LXXXVI, 1, cols. 45-52.

¹⁷ John of Damascus, *De haeresibus liber*, 80, Migne, XCIV, 1, cols. 728-737.

5. That man is all bespattered with sin, even after undergoing baptism.
6. That it is not by baptism that the believer receives the true and incorruptible garment, but by prayer.
7. That it is one's duty to obtain freedom from the passions, and to partake of the Holy Spirit by actual sensation and with full assurance.
8. That the soul ought to feel the same in communion with the heavenly Bridegroom as a woman feels in intercourse with her husband.
9. That spiritual persons see grace and sin actively at work within them and without.
10. That a revelation received by the senses and personally conveyed by God has the certainty of dogma.
11. That fire is creative.
12. That the soul which does not possess Christ with all the assurance of sensible experience is a home of reptiles and venomous beasts, and is possessed by every adverse power.
13. That evil exists in the original nature of things.
14. That before the transgression of the commandments Adam had intercourse with Eve without lust.
15. That (human) seed and the (divine) Word fell upon Mary;¹⁸ [and that the body which the Lord took from her was full of demons, and that he had to cast them out before entering it].
16. That a man must possess himself of two souls, an ordinary and a heavenly.
17. That it is possible for a man to receive in sensible perception the real essence of the Holy Spirit in all assurance and reality.
18. That it is possible for a cross in light to appear to those who pray, and that a man may at times find himself standing before the altar and have presented to him three loaves soaked in oil.

¹⁸ The proposition stops here in the syllabus of St. John Damascene. The words in brackets are supplied from Proposition 7 in Timothy's list.

Starting with a study of the Homilies published in Harvard Theological Studies, Dom. L. Villecourt O.S.B. discovered that elements of ascetic doctrine culled from the works of Johannes Climacus and Isaac of Nineveh entered into the composition of Homily LVI,¹⁹ and came to the general conclusion that these homilies are — like the Greek Letter and the Tractates — *réchauffé* of Macarian material, including some additional elements from other sources. As far as their strictly Macarian matter is concerned, the source from which they are derived is a document in all essential respects identical with the Fifty Homilies. His next discovery was more surprising.²⁰ Running through the Fifty Homilies, he found unmistakable traces of the presence of all the propositions except two — Nos. 14 and 15. In some cases the identity was found to be verbal, as in the curious mystical experience recorded in Proposition 18. It appears to be a spiritualization of the sacrament of Holy Communion, and is taken almost in so many words from Homily VIII, sect. 3:

To some . . . the sign of the cross has appeared in light and fastened itself upon the inward man. At another time a man at his prayers has fallen into a kind of trance, and found himself standing in the altar-space in church, and three loaves were offered to such an one, leavened with oil.²¹

Three of the Propositions can be identified in the New Homilies, viz. Nos. 1, 8, and 16. For Proposition 1, see Homily LI, sect. 3:

In the very body in which we are clothed, ever since the first-formed man's transgression, the Evil One dwells with us. . . . A man's soul and Satan, with whom he is at war, both live in one house, which is the body.

For Proposition 8, reference may be made to Homily LII, sect 6:

The soul is barren and unfruitful apart from union and communion with the heavenly Bridegroom Christ.

It is curious that the Oecumenical Council of Ephesus should have fastened on language of this character as being particu-

¹⁹ Hom. LVI, sect. 1, from the Scala of Johannes Climacus, gradus xxvii, schol. 27 (Migne, LXXXVIII, col. 1124); sect. 4 from the same Scala, gradus xxvii, schol. 11 (Migne, col. 1104), Isaac of Nineveh.

²⁰ 'Homélies spirituelles attribuées a Macaire,' Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 6 Aug. 1920.

²¹ A. J. Mason, Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius, S. P. C. K., 1921, p. 66.

larly dreadful. Mystics of all ages insist on pressing erotic emotion into the service of religion, even those whose orthodoxy and catholicity are above suspicion. For Proposition 16 we may refer to Homily LII, sect. 5:

As for the true Christian, it has pleased the Lord that he should have two souls, one created and the other heavenly from the divine Spirit.

It is strange to find the doctrine of two souls singled out for censure. The doctrine is found, according to F. Gavin,²² in the works of Aphraates, whose orthodoxy was never called in question. The real offence of the Messalians cannot have been their belief in a duality of souls. It was their pursuit of a spiritual form of religion, which tended to make external rites and ceremonies nugatory. A fourth proposition which has left a trace in the new Homilies is No. 15. It is of general interest to students of Christian doctrine, because it contains a theory of the incarnation marked by considerable originality of thought. The doctrine appears to be that the infant Christ was formed quite naturally in the womb of Mary. The attempt of the Word to unite himself with Mary's offspring was subsequent to the child's formation. An obstacle was thrown in the way of this attempt by the fact that demons had already seized Christ's body and mind as their own dwelling-place. These evil spirits had to be driven out before the union could take place. The second part of this proposition is found in Homily VI, sect 5:

For this cause the Lord came, and took the body from Mary. . . . The spirits of wickedness, which had taken up their abode in the body, he put down from their seats in the thoughts and feelings which they haunted. And the Lord cleansed the conscience, and made the mind, the thoughts, and the body a throne for himself.

The first part, which is missing from the Fifty Homilies — probably owing to the expurgation of them by orthodox scribes — has left an echo,²³ though faint and distorted, in the new ones. It hardly falls within the scope of this article to display

²² F. Gavin, 'The Sleep of the Soul in the Early Syriac Church,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 40, 1920.

²³ Hom. LII, sect. 3, τὸ σπέρμα γὰρ τὸ θεϊκὸν ὁ Λόγος, ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θεοτόκον Μαρίαν.

the Messalianism of the Homilies in detail.²⁴ It is sufficient to point out that the Messalian *Asceticon* is not lost, as had been supposed, but is preserved — if not in its integrity, yet to a very large extent — in the Fifty Homilies ascribed to St. Macarius of Egypt and allied documents. A certain distress has been felt at this discovery by Greek scholars, who have been accustomed to regard the Homilies as the work of St. Macarius, whether the Egyptian or the Alexandrian, and have derived much benefit from them. We presume that such distress is also felt by Arabic scholars, on discovering that the Homilies are not the work of St. Symeon Stylites.²⁵ The feeling is natural, but it is hardly reasonable. The conciliar attack on the *Liber Asceticus* was overruled by Providence. Passing under the name of St. Macarius, it has opened the eyes of many to the possibilities of prayer, without encouraging them to revolt against the ecclesiastical authority of the organizations to which they belong.

That the author of the Messalian book lived in Upper Mesopotamia²⁶ is evident from several considerations. His

²⁴ A list of passages in the Fifty Homilies containing the doctrine stigmatized in the Propositions may be useful:

Proposition	Homily	Proposition	Homily
1	XI § 5; XV § 35	9	XL § 7
2	XXVII § 19	10	VII § 5; X § 4
3	XVI § 6; XXVI §§ 6, 18; XXVII § 10	11	XI § 1
4	VIII § 3	12	XLIII § 7
5	II § 2	13	XXVI § 22
6	VIII § 3	15 (2d part)	VI § 5
7	X §§ 2, 5	16	XXXII § 6
8	XV § 2	17	X § 2
		18	VIII § 3

²⁵ A large number of homilies of 'Macarius,' according to Villecourt, are preserved in Arabic under the name of St. Symeon Stylites. The ascription is also to be found in Greek. Thus Homily LI, which in the Harvard Homilies takes the form of a letter addressed to Symeon, is found in a Moscow Manuscript which attributes it to Symeon. See Codex Mosquensis 177 (320/cccvii), where Homily LI begins *Συμεών τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς*. This fact was kindly brought to my notice by G. Mercati.

²⁶ By Upper Mesopotamia we mean the country between the Tigris and Euphrates lying northwest of the Median wall, with Amida (Diarbekr) in the north and Edessa (Urfah) in the west; and we use the expression with special reference to the north-westerly portion, namely that part of the modern province of Aleppo which lies east of the Euphrates and part of Kurdistan.

repeated allusion to war between Romans and Persians suggests that he was living on the Romano-Persian frontier. His frequent reference to women of ill-fame finds its explanation in the fact that his home was a hunting-ground for the trade in white slaves.²⁷ Moreover it is significant that the Euphrates is the only river which he mentions. That his work existed before the date of the Council of Side (*ca.* 390) we knew already. There is nothing in the book inconsistent with the ascription of it to Adelphius, favored by Fabricius²⁸ and Walch.²⁹ On the other hand we cannot say that our discovery makes the attribution to that great Messalian leader any more probable than it was before.

²⁷ See Propertius II. xxiii. 21, 'Et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes me iuverint.'

²⁸ Fabricius-Harles, *Bibliotheca*, X, p. 696, "Scriptores in Photii *Bibliotheca* Mas-saliani, quos idem Photius memorat, sunt Adelphius, Agapius, auctor *βιβλίου ἀσκητικού*." The insertion of the word 'Agapius' appears to be due to a slip of the pen.

²⁹ C. W. F. Walch, *Historie der Kezereien*, III, 481-536.

NOTES

HADRIAN'S DECREE OF EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM JERUSALEM

No city has had so many desolations as Jerusalem, no land has experienced so many devastations. They are so many that it is not easy to register them all, nor to say which is exactly the *fluctus decumanus* that submerged most completely the national life and prosperity. We can, however, see that all the series of disasters have a similarity; each of them is written in terms of wholesale slaughter, deportation, and slavery; if at any time a decree of restoration is issued, the document is a palimpsest with the under-writing betraying a decree of exile.

Now one of the greatest of all such disasters occurred at the close of the Hadrianic wars (A.D. 132-135); it is not written as large in history as it occurred in fact; there was no Josephus in Hadrian's time as in the days of Titus and Vespasian to publish an almost daily bulletin of horrors. We should think less of the year A.D. 70 as a turning-point in history, if Providence had not provided us with a chronicler.

In the case of the last great Jewish revolt our literary material is pitifully slight compared with the magnitude of the resulting disaster; a coin tells us almost as much as a volume of secular and ecclesiastical history, and we have to go to the Talmud for a fact or two, the last quarter in which facts can hide. The astronomers have left us scanty record of the last Star that arose out of Jacob. We read of a slave-market at the Oak of Abraham where the sons of Abraham (who professed never to have been in bondage to any) were sold, as we say, for a mere song; and in some respects the slave-market was made permanent, in order that the slaves might never forget their salvability, and was known in succeeding generations as the Market of the Gentiles. Yet they dreamt of their restoration, both before and after the great disaster of the Hadrianic wars, and they are dreaming still.

One little Christian tract, known as the *Paralipomena of Jeremiah* or the *Last Words of Baruch*, which I once edited and assigned to the year 136 A.D., shows that the Jews had still the memory of seventy weeks of affliction in ancient days and were adding seventy to the date of the capture of the city by Titus, in the hope that somewhere about the year 140 A.D. would be fulfilled their expectation that

The Lord will have mercy on Jacob yet,
And again in his border see Israel set.

And the Christians could say that it was our expectation as well as theirs — for did we not long continue in Greek-speaking churches to keep as a day of memorial the fatal 9th of the month Ab, and to read and recite together the book of the words of the supposed Baruch, of which only a copy or two is now known to exist?

At this time, then, the Jewish race was formally, and as it was supposed finally, exiled from Palestine in general and from Jerusalem in particular. Jupiter was installed in the Temple area, Aphrodite perhaps on the burial-place of Christ, statues of Hadrian were in attendance on Jupiter, and there is some suspicion that Adonis, who once in evil days had a shrine in the Holy Place itself, re-appeared at an ancient grotto of his in Bethlehem, as belonging to him by prescription against the Son of Mary.

If we turn to the description of the Holy City made by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 A.D., we find that the Jews were allowed once a year to wail over their national disasters in the Haram area. His language is as follows:

There are two statues of Hadrian and not far from the statues there is a perforated stone (*lapis pertusus*) to which the Jews come every year, and anoint it, bewail themselves with groans, and so depart.

The perforated stone is, of course, the Dome of the Rock, the central sanctity both for Judaism and Islam and, at that date, the Jews' Wailing Place was in the Temple area, and the wailing time once a year, probably on the 9th of Ab. This means that with the christianisation of the empire, there had been a relaxation of the anti-Judaic edict. Even this modification was under military oversight, for Jerome tells us in his Commentary on Zephaniah (i. 15) that not even their lamentations were untaxed; they had to buy the right of tears.

Videas in die quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Jerusalem, venire populum lugubrem, confluere decrepitas mulierculas, et senes pannis annisque obsitos in corporibus et in habitu suo iram domini demonstrantes, etc.

It will be seen that Jerome is busied with the proof which this annual wailing affords of the fulfilment of the prophecies levelled in ancient days against rebellious Israel: and all the fathers who express anti-Judaic opinions have similar conclusions to draw from their study of the ancient Scriptures. It will be interesting to examine into this matter a little more closely; for we know today better than formerly the wide place that was occupied in theological literature by the

official collections of *Testimonies against the Jews*. Most of these Testimonies are not capable of an exact dating, though some, like the oracle about the Rejected Stone of the builders, go back to our Lord's own time, and one or two, like the prophecies of the When and the Where of the Coming of the Messiah, may conceivably be pre-Christian. In the case of such oracles as relate to the Destruction of the City and the Exile of the People, we have to examine whether they were held to have been fulfilled under Titus or under Hadrian, and sometimes we are able to decide. It need hardly be said that the great Jewish disasters could never have been considered by the Christian church in any other light than that of the divine judgment and the fulfilment of prophecy, however sympathetic in many ways the relations between Christians and Jews may have been; for, as we have seen, even in the time of Hadrian when the Christian believers had been very roughly handled by the followers of the false Messiah, there was still a measure of common loss to which appeal could be made.

Let us examine some of the authorities for the statements that the exile of the Jews was itself of the nature of a *Testimonium dei adversus Judaeos*.

If we turn to Eusebius (H. E. iv. 6), we shall find that he describes the destruction of the ancient city by Hadrian and the foundation of the new city of Aelia Capitolina, and says that the whole Jewish race was forbidden by imperial decree to approach the city; they might not even view the paternal soil from a distance, as Aristo of Pella records.

The Eusebian statement is important on account of the terms employed, which, it is admitted, were borrowed from Aristo of Pella. For convenience of reference, we set it down in his own words:

τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πάμπαν ἐπιβαίνειν εἴργεται νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἂν μὴδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶν ἔδαφος, ἐγκელυσμένον. Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖος ἱστορεῖ.

Eusebius here professes to cite the terms of the Hadrianic decrees from Aristo of Pella; but he did not adequately realize the true character of the work from which he was quoting. For there can be little doubt that the statement comes from the lost work of Aristo, called the *Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus*, in which a Christian and a Jew debate dramatically the *Testimonies against the Jews* collected from the Old Testament. That was, in fact, the first of a series of such dialogues (we may compare *Athanasius and Zacchaeus*, or *Timothy and Aquila*), which run parallel with the line of successive editions

of the Testimony book. We ought not, then, to take too positively the Eusebian language as that of an official decree; it is far more likely to be an interpretation of passages in the Prophets or in the Psalms: for, as we have suggested, God himself is more 'against the Jews' than even Hadrian; it is his decrees that are being registered. When we look more closely at the Eusebian language, we are struck by the unusual term *μηδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου*; they are not to see Judaea 'even at a distance.' The meaning of the adverbial expression *ἐξ ἀπόπτου* has been disputed; it is certainly rare, equally it is obscure. For classical scholarship the meaning of the expression has to be deduced from a passage in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles (467):

καιρὸς γὰρ καλεῖ
πλοῦν μὴ 'ξ ἀπόπτου, μᾶλλον ἢ 'γγύθεν σκοπεῖν.

On this Hermann remarks:

Si Suidas, quum *ἐξ ἀπόπτου* interpretatus est *ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου*, hunc locum spectavit, non satis apte scripsit. Significat enim aperte *ex longinquo*.

Jebb's note on the passage is as follows:

"Not at a distance" (from the ship); strictly, so that the quarter in which their ship lies shall not be *ἀποπτος*, i.e. "seen (only) at a distance." Cf. Galen 3. 222 *ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεασάμενος*, etc.

It appears, then, that Jebb agrees with Hermann in his interpretation.

This seems to be the natural explanation of the Eusebius (Aristo) passage: the Jews are to see the city from afar, or, more exactly, not even to see it from afar. And we might now proceed to enquire whether this is more likely to be the language of imperial edict or of fulfilled prophecy. We must admit, if only in a parenthesis, that there is one other passage in the opening chapter of Eusebius's *History* which suggests that the expression means 'from a look-out station,' for Eusebius alludes to his own work on an untried path as being assisted by the calls and cries of those who call to him

ἐξ ἀπόπτου καὶ ἀπὸ σκοπίας.

In this passage it is possible to take *ἀπόπτου* as equivalent to *σκοπία*, but as such a sense would take us even further from any possible edict, and does not immediately suggest prophecy, we will see if the meaning 'ex longinquo' can be justified.

If we turn to Tertullian's treatise *Against the Jews*, we shall find as follows:

Interdictum est ne in confinio ipsius regionis demoretur quisquam Judaeorum, ut hoc quoque esset adimpletum per prophetam (Is. 1, 7): *Terra vestra*

deserta, civitates vestrae igne exustae, id quod belli tempore eis evenerit; . . . et alio loco sic per prophetam dicitur (Is. 33, 17): Regem cum claritate videbitis, id est Christum facientem virtutes in gloria dei patris; et oculi vestri videbunt terram de longinquo, quod vobis pro meritis vestris post expugnationem Hierusalem, prohibitis ingredi in terram vestram, de longinquo eam oculis tantum videre permissum est (Adversus Judaeos 13).

Here we have an exact parallel to the Eusebian ἐξ ἀπόπτου in Tertullian's 'de longinquo,' used to describe the enforced exile of the Jews from Jerusalem and its confines, and we observe that Tertullian proves and approves the exile and banishment by means of a Testimony from Isaiah. It is not quite clear whether under the phrase 'post expugnationem Hierusalem' he means to include the later Jewish war in the reign of Hadrian or whether he is referring to the siege under Titus; in any case the Jews are forbidden by decree and by prophecy, by God and man, to see their city *except from afar*. This then is the meaning of ἐξ ἀπόπτου, for there is practically no difference between Aristo's statement that they might not see the city even at a distance, and Tertullian's proof from Isaiah that they were to see it 'as a land of far distances.'

This does not settle the question whether the curious term ἐξ ἀπόπτου came from a Roman decree or from a Book of Testimonies; Eusebius suggests that it was 'by a legal decision and by ordinances of Hadrian,' but this still leaves it possible that Aristo, whom he is quoting, may have used language in description of the imperial edict that might not have stood in the edict itself. Let us see if we can find further traces either of the imperial edict or of the terms in which a student of prophecy would interpret it.

If we turn to the Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus, we shall find a passage in which the anti-Jewish edicts are involved. He says that

the whole world over which the Jews have been dispersed is, as it were, a standing memorial of their calamity; so also is the cessation of their ritual and the scarcely to be recognized site (ἔδαφος) of Jerusalem itself, which is now only so far accessible (ἐπίβατον) to them . . . that they may appear there on a single day in the year to bewail its desolation (*Orat. vi. de pace*. p. 191).

The importance of this passage is not only that it confirms Jerome's statement (no doubt based on personal observation) that the anti-Jewish prohibition was relaxed on the 9th day of the month Ab, but that its language is reminiscent of Aristo and Eusebius: we notice that ἐπίβατον of Gregory is framed on the ἐπιβαίνειν of Aristo, and that ἔδαφος occurs in both passages. We shall catch the same strain

in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, where the prophecies of Isaiah are thrown at Trypho's head:

ἵνα γένωνται αἱ χῶραι ὑμῶν ἔρημοι καὶ αἱ πόλεις πυρίκανστοι καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν κατεσθίωσιν ἄλλότριοι, καὶ μηδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπιβαίνη εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ (*Dial.* 16).

Here the major part of the passage is from Isaiah 1, 7, but the last clause is from the edict. The passage which Justin quotes from Isaiah, it may be observed in passing, is precisely that which Cyprian's *Testimonies* refer to, in proof that the Jews were to lose and leave Jerusalem.

We shall find that Justin not only throws the Testimony Book at the head of Trypho, but that he gave the same treatment to the Roman Senate; we can detect the very heading of the section that he is quoting, and the principal proof-texts: he tells the Senate in his *Apology* that the devastation of Judaea was foretold, and that no Jew was now allowed to dwell there; for

it has been also spoken concerning her desolation and concerning the prohibition against any of them dwelling there [proof texts from Is. 1, 7 and Jer. 1, 3, "there shall be none to dwell therein"];

after which Justin continues:

and that care is taken by you to prevent any Jew from coming there, and that death is denounced against any Jew who attempts to enter, you yourselves are well aware (Justin, *Apol.* 77):

Here Justin emphasises the penalty of death declared against the intruding and returning exile; this must have stood in the Hadrianic edict. On this point we need have no doubt, for Celsus the Epicurean, who, by the way, was familiar with Aristo's *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, for which he expressed the utmost contempt, points out that the Providence over the Jews had not left them either a clod of earth (βῶλος) or a hearth-stone (ἐστία), and that if any wandering Jew tried to escape notice, he is hunted down with a view to his death (ζητέται πρὸς θανάτου δίκην).

We come now to a passage of peculiar interest and difficulty. In the opening chapter of the treatise of Philo which goes under the name of *Quod omnis probus liber*, the question is asked (in the interest of the doctrine of human liberty, with which the tract is concerned) what right we have

to call those men citizens who have never been enrolled at all, or else have had sentences of infamy or of banishment pronounced against them; men who

have been driven beyond the boundaries of the land, and who are unable, not only to set foot upon the country, but even to behold their native soil from a distance, unless they are urged on by some insane frenzy to rush upon certain death (Philo, *Quod omnis probus* 1, tr. Yonge).

The Greek of the concluding sentence is as follows:

πέραν ὄρων ἀνθρώπους ἐληλαμένους, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὸ πατρῶν ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι δυναμένους,

where we not only recognize the unusual words ἐξ ἀπόπτου, which we found in Aristo, but also the parallels to the Eusebian ἐπιβαίνειν and πατρῶν ἔδαφος θεωροῖεν. This concurrence cannot be accidental. We have picked up again the terms describing the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine at the close of the Hadrianic war. The death-penalty also is involved in either case. But how is it possible that such terms could proceed from the pen of Philo? And even if we say that the treatise cannot be Philo's, we are not out of our difficulties. If these words are a part of the anti-Jewish edict, it is certain that Philo, who was long dead, can as little have written them as Philo, living, would have been likely to employ them. Why should a later Stoic, preaching on Liberty and the Life according to Nature, have used the exiled Jews as his text without even mentioning the special circumstances of the people to whom the terms apply?

We can hardly venture the assumption that the writer of *Quod omnis probus* is quoting from Aristo, and consequently we are compelled to admit that Aristo has quoted an imperial decree, which he has illustrated by appropriate sentences from the prophets. It is quite within the bounds of probability that the decrees which are quoted were advertised in all the great cities of the East, and so might easily furnish quotable matter to a philosopher also who was writing on Freedom. We should thus have recovered not only some passages from Aristo of Pella, but also some incorporated official matter. If that official matter is really anti-Judaic, it is all up with the Philonian authorship of *Quod omnis probus*, and those critics who have assailed that authorship will turn out to be right. Nor does there seem any way of avoiding the conclusion except by saying that the edict against the Jews, involving their national expulsion and elongation from Palestine, was couched in general terms such as the Roman government was in the habit of employing against either individuals or groups of banished persons.

It is interesting to observe that the edict of expulsion of the Jews from their holy place, under pain of death for a breach of the regula-

tion, would be the exact inversion of their own prohibition publicly set up and inscribed, with regard to the entrance of foreigners within the Sanctuary.¹

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JULIAN OF HALICARNASSUS

Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ. Étude d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale suivie des fragments dogmatiques de Julien (texte syriaque et traduction grecque). (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis; Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica consequendum conscriptae; Series II, tomus 12.) Louvain, 1924.

Julien d'Halicarnasse, by Dr. H. Draguet of Louvain, is one of an increasing number of attempts to add to our knowledge of Greek patristic thought by exploring the material preserved in Syriac theological literature, a considerable part of which remains unpublished. What important results can be derived from such work, especially in the field of post-chalcedonian theology, and what significant corrections can be made of the current views about it, has already been made clear by such books as J. Lebon's *Le Monophysisme Sévérien*. Draguet's book presupposes a knowledge of Lebon's work and deals with a single incident in the history of Severian monophysitism — the controversy between Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus on the ἀφθαρσία of Christ's body. On the basis of a large number of fragments contained in Syriac catenae and in the polemic works of Severus, Draguet has reconstructed Julian's theology and has shown that the picture of it presented by the Greek tradition on which modern scholars have almost exclusively relied is hardly more than a reproduction of Severus' prejudices.

One of the most important sections of the book is the preliminary account of the literary history of the controversy between Julian and Severus, reconstructed in the main from the hitherto unexplored Syriac tradition. Not all the details are of equal certainty, but as the specialist will himself have to read Draguet's discussion of the evidence, only the outline of his results need be given here.

¹ For the correctness of our interpretation of ἐξ ἀπόπτου we may compare Hesychius, "Αποπτον, πόρρωθεν δρώμενον, ἢ ἀθεώρητον.

Exiled from Halicarnassus by the measures of Justin I against the Monophysites, Julian took up his residence in or near Alexandria in the year 518, and soon found himself involved in a dispute with the Dyophysites. To defend his view that the body of Christ was absolutely ἀφθαρτος he collected a series of patristic texts in support of this position and added to them an extensive commentary of his own. This collection is known as the *Tomus* of Julian. In the hope of winning the support of Severus, the exiled Patriarch of Antioch, who was living in a precarious and harassed existence among the monks of the desert, he sent him this work, together with a covering letter, attempting thus to steal a march on his adversaries.¹

An exchange of correspondence followed the reception of the *Tomus* and its accompanying letter. Three letters were written on each side, called by Draguet the *First*, *Second*, and *Third Letters of Severus*, and the *First*, *Second*, and *Third Letters of Julian*, the first of this latter series being the original covering letter sent with the *Tomus*. Severus' first letter was written to explain to Julian his delay in sending him his criticism of the *Tomus*. Julian's second letter expressed his disappointment at this delay, and even more at Severus' doubts about the agreement of his teaching with that of the Fathers. Between the first and the second letters of Severus, the former patriarch finished his *Criticism of the Tomus*, and sent it to Alexandria to be copied. This is extant in Syriac, but has been published only in part. His purpose in doing this was probably to have a supply of his books on hand, intending, if Julian did not follow his advice and suppress the dangerous *Tomus*, to counteract its effect by an immediate publication of his own refutation. This plan failed, for he soon learned that the *Tomus* had already appeared and gained a wide circulation. Severus then wrote his second letter to Julian expressing his regrets that the *Tomus* should have been circulated without due consideration of his objections to it, and his hope that he and Julian might arrange a meeting and amicably settle their differences. The third letter of Julian marks the breach in his relations with Severus. Julian had become acquainted with the *Criticism*, and wrote the patriarch a letter of bitter and angry reproach for keeping him so long in suspense while secretly taking advantage of his confidence to move

¹ Draguet (pp. 16-17) discusses the relations between the *Tomus* and the *Oratio contra Dyophysitas* mentioned by Zacharias Rhetor and Michael Syrus, and suggests, without accepting the view, that as the *Tomus* was confined to the defence of Christ's ἀφθαρσία, the *Oratio* may have been a more general polemic against the views of the Dyophysites.

against him. Severus replied in his third letter with a denial of Julian's accusations and a hostile and trenchant criticism of his theology.

It is fortunately possible to fix the date of this correspondence with some definiteness. The first letter of Julian must have been written between 518, the date of Severus' arrival in Egypt, and 528, the date at which his works against Julian were translated into Syriac. Draguet favors a date not far from 520.

With the close of the correspondence the controversy between Julian and Severus enters on a phase of formal polemic. In addition to the lengthy Criticism of the Tomus and probably about the same time, Severus issued a brief refutation of some of Julian's propositions, which follows, in some manuscripts, the text of the Criticism. Julian fortified his position by a second edition of the Tomus, in which he considerably elaborated his original argument, and to this supplementary matter Severus devoted a new treatise, the *Contra Additiones*.² Meanwhile Julian had been preparing a reply to the Criticism, which he issued in ten books under the amicable title, *Against the Blasphemies of Severus*.³ The work was designed to defend the interpretations of Scripture and of patristic texts which Severus had so sharply attacked in his Criticism, and to show the superiority of his own christological terminology to that of his adversary. About the same time⁴ he published another book, cited by Severus, in his reply to it, as the *Apology of Julian*.

One of the most complicated problems in the literary tradition of Severus' and Julian's writings concerns the identification of two works of Severus, known as the *Philalethes* and the *Apologia pro Philalethe*. Draguet's view is that the former of the two treatises was composed at Constantinople between 509 and 511 and was an attack upon a dyophysite work, a dogmatic florilegium, in which an attempt was made to reconcile the language of Cyril with the dyophysite theology. In the course of the controversy with Julian, the Julianists appealed to this work to show that Severus had once shared their opinion on the ἀφθαρσία of Christ's body. The *Apologia pro Philalethe* is a denial

² Draguet (p. 34) corrects the mistaken supposition that the *Additiones* formed a separate work by Julian.

³ Apparently the scribe made an amusing blunder and miscopied the title *κατὰ τῶν βλασφημιῶν Σευήρου* as *κατὰ βλασφημιῶν ἐπὶ Σευήρον*, a fact that Severus modestly ascribed to the immediate intervention of Providence.

⁴ Draguet (p. 43) is inclined to place this work between the *Additiones* and the *Adversus blasphemias Severi*.

of this charge and an explanation of the view advanced in the Philalethes.^b

The literature discussed up to this point was all written before 528, the year in which Paul of Callinicus translated Severus' polemic works into Syriac. To the literature subsequent to this Draguet devotes a brief chapter. It consists of (1) allusions to Julian and his followers in the works of Severus, (2) the extant fragments of Severus' *Contra Felicissimum*, (3) John of Antioch's *Plerophoria fidei orthodoxae et apostolicae*, and (4) the relevant portions of various dogmatic florilegia, of which the most important is preserved in several Syriac mss. in the British Museum, the best being B. M. add. 12155. Draguet believes that much of the matter peculiar to this florilegium was taken from the *Contra Felicissimum* of Severus.

As the information is scattered widely throughout the text and notes of Draguet's book, it is worth while to indicate briefly the places where the literature we have discussed may be found. The correspondence between Severus and Julian exists in two Syriac versions. The first was made at Edessa in the year 528 by Paul of Callinicus and is represented by two mss. in the Vatican and one in the British Museum — Vat. 140, 2d-20c; Vat. 255, 162a, 2a-37a; B. M. add. 17200, 4a-38a. It is as a whole unpublished, but Draguet has followed the text of this version in his Fragments 1-5, which contain the passages of dogmatic importance. The second version is independent, but very similar to the Edessan text, and is found in Zacharias Rhetor, *Hist. eccl.* ix. 10 (Brooks's edition, pp. 102 ff.; Land's edition, III, pp. 263 ff.), reproduced by Michael Syrus, *Chronica* ix. 27 (Chabot's edition, II, pp. 299 ff.)⁵ Of Julian's *Tomus*, Draguet has published 44 fragments. One of these is in Greek, taken from the *Doctrina Patrum* (Diekamp, p. 313); the others are Syriac quotations drawn from the polemic works of Severus and from several dogmatic florilegia.⁷ No text of the *Oratio contra Dyophysitas* exists, unless Draguet's suggestion is right that the treatise is identical either with the *Tomus* or with a certain *Disputatio adversus Nestorianos, Achillen, et Victorem* of which two fragments appear in the florilegia.⁸ Severus' Criticism remains unpublished for the most part, although a Syriac

⁵ Draguet, pp. 50-73, especially pp. 62-72.

⁶ Draguet, p. 13, n. 6. Five fragments of Severus' Third Letter exist in Greek in the *Epistola Eustathii monachi de duabus naturis adversus Severum*; Migne P. G. 86, 929 ff.; Draguet, p. 29, n. 7.

⁷ Fragments 6-49. References to the mss. are supplied in the apparatus.

⁸ Draguet, Fragments 130, 131. Cf. pp. 16-18. See above note 1.

version is to be found complete in Vat. 140, 20c-60e and in a somewhat mutilated form in Vat. 255, 37a-152b and B. M. add. 17200, 38a-40b.⁹ The authorities for the text of Severus' *Refutatio Propositionum Juliani* are Vat. 140, 60e-66c and a MS. of century vii-viii at the British Museum, add. 14529, 26a-40b. Considerable fragments are also found in Vat. 255, 154-160.¹⁰ The material introduced by Julian into his second edition of the *Tomus* is only imperfectly known through Severus' *Contra Additiones*,¹¹ and the monumental *Adversus Blasphemias Severi* has also perished, except for the quotations of it in Severus' *Apologia pro Philaethe* and fragments from the Syriac florilegia which Draguet with some probability assigns to it.¹² For the *Apologia Juliani* we are dependent on quotations from Severus and the florilegia.¹³ Severus' *Contra Additiones* and *Adversus Apologiam Juliani* exist in their complete form in Syriac but are as yet unpublished. The former is contained in Vat. 140, 68d-99f and B. M. add. 12158, 2a-49a; the latter is complete in B. M. add. 12158, 49b-128a, but is only partially preserved in Vat. 140, 100a-108a.¹⁴ The *Apologia pro Philaethe* is found entire in Vat. 140, 108b-145c, while the *Philaethes* itself is contained in a Syriac ms. of century viii in the Vatican (Vat. 139).¹⁵

Most of the later literature has been published. A large number of the letters of Severus have been edited by Brooks; fragments of the *Contra Felicissimum* are to be found in Greek in the *Doctrina Patrum*, and in a catena published by Mai; quotations are to be found in Syriac in various florilegia in the British Museum and in Peter of Antioch's *Contra Damianum*.¹⁶ The *Plerophoria* of John of Antioch is still unpublished, but is partially extant in a Syriac ms. (century viii-ix) of the British Museum (add. 14629 ff. 5c-24d).

The value of the discovery and orderly arrangement of Julian's sur-

⁹ Draguet, pp. 25, 26: "Mai a donné une traduction partielle de la Critique dans le *Spicilegium Romanum* (x. 1. pp. 169-201), mais on ne peut l'utiliser qu'en la contrôlant d'assez près." Six fragments are extant in Greek, one of which cannot be verified from the Syriac; Draguet, p. 25, n. 9.

¹⁰ Draguet, p. 31.

¹¹ Draguet, *Fragments* 50-56; cf. p. 34.

¹² Draguet, *Fragments* 75-129; cf. pp. 39, 40.

¹³ Draguet, pp. 42-44; *Fragments* 57-74.

¹⁴ Draguet, pp. 46, n. 4, p. 47, n. 8. Two quotations in Greek are found in Cramer's *Catena on Acts*; cf. Draguet, p. 47, n. 9.

¹⁵ Draguet, pp. 50-73, especially p. 50, notes 3, 4, pp. 60-62. There is a Greek extract from the *Apologia pro Philaethe* in the *Doctrina Patrum*, xx. 9, Diekamp, p. 128.

¹⁶ Diekamp, p. 356; Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, IX, pp. 728-729; Draguet, p. 80.

viving works becomes at once apparent on turning to Draguet's exposition of his doctrine. The traditional view has been that Julian's significance lay in his peculiar development of the monophysite teaching. Draguet has shown that this is not the case, and that though Julian held the usual view of one nature in Christ, he laid no special emphasis upon it, and that it was in fact a point of agreement and not of difference between him and his opponents. The centre of gravity in Julian's system is to be found in his theory of original sin, which was so radically different from that of contemporary Greek orthodoxy that the effect of its implications produced far-reaching disagreements with the traditional Greek view.

It may at first sight seem strange that even a fundamental difference in the conception of original sin should have provoked so violent a quarrel over the apparently remote question of the ἀφθαρσία of Christ's body. The connection between the two questions, however, was direct, and the conflict inevitable. For Severus and for the vast majority of Greek theologians, the statement that Christ's body was φθαρτός was only a necessary corollary to the doctrine that he was in all points ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν. For them φθορά consisted of the natural human weaknesses, such as hunger, thirst, pain, and death, to which human nature had been subject since the fall and from which, by assuming a complete human nature, Christ had redeemed us. For Julian φθορά had quite a different sense. In his view Adam's fall had the result not only of weakening and corrupting the human nature in which his descendants shared, but also of transmitting to it the taint of guilt and blame of which this corruption was the outward and visible sign. In human nature the natural accompaniment of φθορά is sin, and to say that Christ's body was φθαρτός was the equivalent of attributing to him also a genuine share in the sin of Adam. With such a view of φθορά Julian's most pressing difficulty was to find a way of removing Christ from the sphere of this guilt without violating the principle of ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν.

One of the most important results of Draguet's investigations is to show that Julian did not fall into the error of reducing the complete humanity of Christ. Wary of the dangerous charge of Eutychianism, he repeatedly asserts the perfect consubstantiality of Christ with us. This consubstantiality, however, did not involve Christ in φθορά, because sin, desire, and guilt are not a necessary part of the human φύσις and were actually no part of the experience of Adam before the fall. Human nature, as we know it and experience it, is a poor maimed object, suffering from a disease that is no part of its essential nature

but an inevitable consequence of the folly of its youth. In assuming a complete human nature Christ adopted its original form that had appeared in Adam and not the form in which we know it. There is then a real distinction between Christ and ourselves, which is, however, not sufficient to affect the community of nature, and which may be expressed by saying that Christ, though a true man, was not an ordinary one.

To explain the way in which Christ avoided participation in those elements of our nature which were unworthy of him, Julian had recourse to the doctrine of the birth of Jesus from a virgin. It is not clear from the fragments that survive how he supposed the taint of sin and guilt to be transmitted from one generation of men to another, but the importance which he attaches to the element of desire in *φθορά* makes it probable that with Augustine he held the experience of sexual satisfaction, involved in the perpetuation of the human race, to be an unmistakable indication, if not the actual medium, of the transmission of original sin and guilt. The birth of Jesus was accomplished without the operation of the sexual instinct, and the resulting human life might therefore be considered free from the *φθορά* whereof that instinct was the characteristic note. Thus relieved of the mechanical necessity of inheriting the consequences of Adam's fall, Jesus' acceptance of human limitations became a voluntary act and a witness to his love and yearning to save mankind, as dramatic as it was effective. For us the miseries of life are a direct consequence of Adam's fatal disobedience; for Jesus the same miseries were willingly experienced in order to save mankind from their continued oppression. For us these experiences are *πάθη φυσικά καὶ ἀκούσια*; for Christ they are also *φυσικά*, since they inhere to some extent in the human nature he has taken, but they are not *ἀκούσια* but *ἐκούσια*. Because they are voluntary and not imposed by the inheritance of Adam's guilt, Jesus escaped *φθορά* psychologically, just as, by his birth from a virgin, he had escaped it mechanically.

It would be easy enough to criticize Julian's theology from the point of view of inner consistency, and interesting to determine how far Draguet's reconstruction of his thought clears him from the charges of heresy, traditionally associated with his name. It is more important, however, for the student of Christian thought to estimate its historic significance. The only Eastern theologian with whose ideas Julian's system is closely related is Philoxenus of Mabbôgh and Draguet suggests the possibility that Julian knew the writings of Philoxenus, even if he had not actually made his acquaintance at Con-

stantinople. Admitting this possibility, a larger and more important question suggests itself. To what influence is due the appearance in these two Byzantine theologians of a system bearing so many affinities with that of Augustine? Draguet is undoubtedly justified in declining to raise so difficult a question, much less to suggest so uncertain an hypothesis as that of a dependence of Julian and Philoxenus on Augustine. It seems, however, extremely unlikely that a doctrine of original sin so contrary to the traditional conceptions of Greek theology should have been promulgated without some influence, direct or indirect, from the West.

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BENTLEY'S COLLATION OF CODEX BEZAE

NOT mentioned by Scrivener (*Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, p. xii), and hitherto unnoticed, is the collation of Codex Bezae with the text of Stephanus made by Richard Bentley († 1742) and numbered Adv. e. 2. 1 in the collection of his books preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge.¹

Bentley's readings for the missing Greek portion of the codex discussed in this REVIEW, vol. xvi, 1923, pp. 163-168, 392-394 (Acts 21, 16-18) are as follows: *αναβαινομεν εις ιεροσολυμα συνηλθον δε και των μαθητων απο κεσαρειας συν ημιν ουτοι δε ηγαγον παρ ω ξενισθωμεν και παραγενομενοι εις τινα κωμην εγενομεθα παρα αρχαιω μαθητη μνασωνι τινι κυπριω κακειθεν . . . ηλθομεν εις ιεροσολυμα υπεδεξαντο δε ημας ασμενως [οι αδελφοι τη δε επιουσή εισηει ο παυλος συν ημιν προς ιακωβον παντες τε] συνηγμενοι*

. . . *vox laceratur* f. *εξελθοντες*
[] *lacerantur*.

It is clear from the readings *απο* for *εκ*, *μνασωνι* for *νασωνι*, and *παρ ω* for *προς ους* that Bentley paid no attention to the difference between corrections and the original hand of the manuscript. It is equally plain that he made bad mistakes in collating. The line *συνηλθον δε και των μαθητων* could not have stood in the ms., for there is no room for it

¹ My thanks are due to the College Council of Trinity College for permission to use this volume. The number B. 17. 4 noted in A. A. Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, has been recently changed. Ellis speaks only of a collation of the gospels, a circumstance which probably explains Scrivener's neglect of this collation of Acts.

on the page. Moreover, *ημας* after *ηγαγον* cannot have been missing, as it was read by Ussher and is supported by the Latin *duxerunt nos*.

A considerable difficulty is raised by the order of words reported by Bentley in *παρα αρχαιω μαθητη μνασωνι τινι κυπριω*. This differs from Stephanus, but cannot be wholly a mistake in copying, since Bentley indicates the change by numerals written above the printed text

3 4 5 1 2

before him: *μνασωνι τινι κυπριω αρχαιω μαθητη*. Here the order *αρχαιω μαθητη*, which agrees with Stephanus, is contradicted by Ussher's and Dickinson's collations, which give *μαθητη αρχαιω* and are supported by the Latin, *discipulum antiquum*. As to the position of the two words immediately after *παρα*, the Latin and the silence of the other collations are against Bentley, and decisive proof comes from Dickinson's collation. In his time (1732 or 1733) the last three letters of *κωμην* and the words *τινι κυπριω* were missing, and a glance at the reconstruction of the torn leaf (*Harvard Theological Review*, 1923, p. 166) shows that a tear affecting *μην* and *τινι κυπριω* would be impossible with Bentley's order.

Equally misleading is Bentley's report of what follows *παραγενομένοι*. It may be (cf. *ibid.*, p. 166 note) that the mutilation of *μην* and *τινι κυπριω* noted by Dickinson had not yet taken place; but if the word *εξερχομενοι* could not be read, it is very unlikely that *ιεροσολυμα* was still intact as well as *δε ημας ασμενωσ*; moreover the testimony of Mill (1707) directly states the contrary. Further, Bentley has overlooked *τη δε*, which Dickinson could still read.

It must be admitted that this collation confirms Scrivener's judgment that the great Bentley was at his worst in dealing with manuscripts of the New Testament.

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[illegible]

